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EDWARD VII, KING-EMPEROR.

THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA

BY

VINCENT A. SMITH

M.A., I.C.S., RETIRED

AUTHOR OF 'THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA', ETC.

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BUDDHA.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS little book, like its many rivals, is designed primarily to meet the wants of students preparing for the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University, as defined in the latest Syllabus. But it is hoped that other readers also may find it useful as an introduction to the study of Indian history.

Although it would be unbecoming for me to criticize the performances of my predecessors individually, it may be permissible to observe that I have aimed at a standard of accuracy higher than that attained by any of the seven or eight more or less similar books which I have had the opportunity of testing, and that certain inveterate errors continually recurring in textbooks will not be found in this work. One such error—the use of the misleading phrases 'the Pathan empire' and 'the Pathan kings', long since given up by scholars—unfortunately has crept into the official Syllabus. I have done my best to avoid introducing fresh blunders of my own.

The sketch of the political history of the times preceding the Muhammadan conquest is based on the second edition of my *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1908). Already that work requires some small corrections, which are introduced, as occasion arises, in the following pages. The paragraphs dealing with literary and miscellaneous subjects, and the outline of the history of the Muhammadan

and British periods, rest upon the best and latest authorities at my disposal, among which several chapters in vols. i and ii of the *Indian Empire* (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1907–8) deserve special acknowledgement.

Every topic mentioned in the Syllabus is dealt with in this volume, and can be traced with facility in the table of contents and index. The Syllabus is reprinted as Appendix C for convenience of reference. Useful tables have been inserted as required. Many readers, I think, will be glad to find in Appendix A the full text of the Queen's Proclamation, dated November 1, 1858.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

SOME errors in minute details which escaped notice in the first edition have been now corrected. I am indebted to Mr. J. S. Cotton for pointing out several such small blemishes in Book V.

V. A. S.

DECEMBER, 1909.

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BOOK I

PHYSICAL FEATURES: ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER I

The geographical foundation of history : the physical features of India.

Geography the foundation of history. 'Geography is,' as has been well said, 'the foundation of all historical knowledge.' The history of India, like that of other lands, cannot be understood unless regard is paid to the physical features of the stage on which the long drama of her story has been played, and before we attempt a rapid survey of the actors' deeds we must pause to consider the manner in which the position and structure of India have affected human action.

Exclusion of Burma and Ceylon. The Indian empire as now constituted includes the kingdom of Burma to the east of the Bay of Bengal, which was annexed in three instalments in the years 1826, 1852, and 1886. Burma, however, which has a history of its own, is not naturally a part of India. Its affairs, therefore, will not be discussed in this book, except incidentally as episodes in the Indian story. The island of Ceylon, on the other hand, although physically an imperfectly severed fragment of the mainland, is not a part of the Indian empire, being administered as a Crown colony under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. For this reason, and also because the island, like Burma, has a history of its own, the annals of Ceylon do not come within the scope of this book, except so far as they have been affected by the direct action of Indian powers.

Boundaries of India. The India with which we are concerned is the distinct geographical unit bounded on the

north by the ranges of the Himalaya and Karakoram, on the north-west by the mountains to the west of the Indus, on the north-east by the hills of Assam and Cāchār, and everywhere else by the sea. The unit so defined includes both a continental area, outside the tropics, extending from the mouths of the Indus in N. lat. 25° on the west to the mouths of the Ganges in about N. lat. 23° on the east, and a triangular peninsular area within the tropics, terminating at Cape Comorin, N. lat. 8° 4′. The northern frontier measures about 1,600, the north-western about 700, and the north-eastern about 500 miles. The length of the sea-coast may be taken as about 3,000 miles.

Physical isolation of India. The leading fact in the position above described as affecting history is the obvious physical isolation of India. In ancient times, when no power attempted to assert full command of the sea, a country so largely surrounded by the ocean was inaccessible for the most part, and could be approached by land through its continental section only. The north-eastern hills and the gigantic Himalayan and Karakoram ranges present few openings at all passable, and none easy of passage for considerable bodies of men. But the hills west of the Indus are pierced by many passes more or less open. The land gates of India are all on her north-western frontier, and this physical fact dominated her whole history for thousands of years.

Isolation destroyed by command of the sea. The command of the sea acquired by the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century and ultimately inherited by the British has destroyed the isolation of India. To a modern power possessing an adequate fleet, the sea is a bond of union not a barrier of separation, and so it has come about that India, while still separated from the continental empires of Russia, Persia, and China by mountain ramparts, is closely bound to the island of Great Britain by means of the British control of the ocean routes.

Modern importance of the ports. The ports are now

the main gates, and the north-western passes are but posterns. No hostile force entering India by any of the ancient land routes could hold more than a limited area in the north-west against a power exercising command of the sea. While the traveller from Bombay easily reaches London in a fortnight, Delhi is still almost as far from Ghaznī or Samarkand as it was in the days of Mahmūd and Bābar.

Distribution of the great cities. In former times the great cities and capitals of states were built inland and usually on the banks of rivers, which offered the best means of communication and transport. Now, the position of the greatest cities is determined by the facilities for harbour accommodation, and the capital of the empire must be in close touch with the sea. Bombay owes her modern greatness solely to her magnificent natural harbour, which enables her to deal with the commerce of the world. Calcutta, although not so favoured by nature, is still a great port, and as such is qualified to be the imperial capital.

Want of harbours on the east coast. The lack of good harbours on the eastern coast fit for big modern ships has killed or half killed the ancient towns on that side of India. Ports which were good enough for the tiny vessels of ancient times are of no use for the great steamers of these days. Madras, in order to save herself from ruin, has been obliged to supply natural deficiency by the construction of an artificial harbour at enormous cost. Most of the harbours on the eastern side of India, such as they were, have become so choked with sand and silt as to be almost useless, even for small coasting craft. This physical change has involved the utter ruin of famous old ports, Kāvirīpaddanam, Korkai, and others.

Natural division between North and South. Next in importance to the physical isolation of India, as it existed for countless years, is the natural separation of the North from the South effected by the broad belt of hill and forest running from the Gulf of Cambay on the west to the mouths of the Mahānadī on the east. The country lying between this barrier

and the Himalaya, although not altogether devoid of hills, is essentially a plain watered by two river systems, those of the Indus and the Ganges. The parting or watershed of the two systems is marked by the Āravalli (Pāriyātra) hills of Rājputāna. The great plain, formed of silt deposited by the rivers, has been the scene of nearly all the Indian historical events interesting to the outer world. It lies outside the tropics. The peninsular region to the south of the forest barrier lies wholly within the tropics, and until recent times has been so secluded from the rest of the world that the history of its many principalities and powers, excepting some on the coasts, has been little known or regarded.

The forest barrier, or Mahākāntāra, and the Narbadā river. The forest barrier itself, Mahākāntāra of old books, used to be a no-man's-land, lying outside the limits of the regularly constituted states, and usually left in the hands of its wild inhabitants. It is now shared by several provincial governments, and is gradually losing its former distinct character. In very early times this forest belt was practically impenetrable, and the slight intercourse between North and South had to be conducted either by sea or by a land route along the eastern coast. The forest barrier being broad and ill-defined, a more definite boundary is needed for literary use. Ancient authority, accordingly, warrants the assumption of the Narbadā river as the conventional line dividing the North from the South, and this convention is sufficiently supported by the facts of history to be justified in practice.

Āryāvarta, or Hindustan and the Deccan. The northern plains were called by Hindu authors Āryāvarta, 'the Aryan territory,' and by the Muhammadans Hindustan, 'the Hindu territory.' Modern usage sometimes extends the term Hindustan to the whole of India. The ancients generally designated the whole southern peninsular area by the Sanskrit word *dakshiṇa*, meaning 'south', which is familiar in its corrupt English form as 'the Deccan'. But the term 'Deccan' is now commonly restricted to the plateau or highlands to the north

of the Kistna (Krishnā) and Tungabhadra rivers, which are mostly included in the Nizam's Dominions and the Bombay Presidency. The Far South, or Tamil Land (*Tamilakam*), which comprises the bulk of the Madras Presidency with the addition of the Cochin and Travancore States, is treated as distinct from the Deccan.

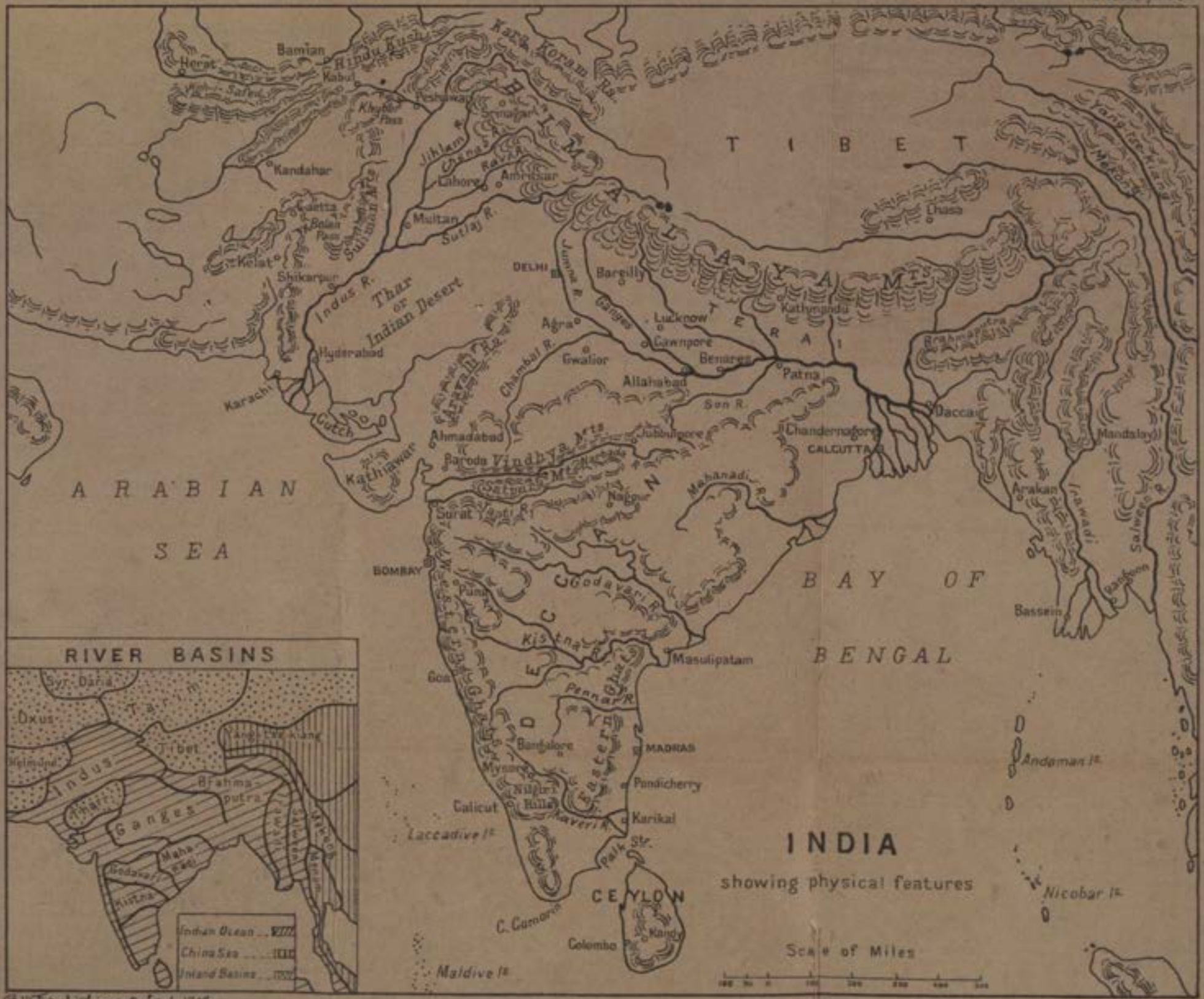
The historian's three divisions of India. As a matter of fact the three divisions of Hindustan or Āryāvarta, to the north of the Narbadā; the Deccan, between the Tāptī and the Tungabhadra; and the Far South or Tamil Land, from the Tungabhadra to Cape Comorin, usually have had separate histories. The historian of India, therefore, finds it convenient to restrict his main narrative to Hindustan, which was most in touch with the outer world, and to devote distinct chapters to the account of events in the Deccan and the Far South. Most of the events of at all general interest occurred in one or other of the three regions named above. The affairs of Mahākāntāra, the central belt of jungle, of the Himalayan slopes and valleys, including Nepāl and Kashmīr, as well as those of the basin of the Brahmaputra, including Assam, ordinarily fall outside of the main current of Indian history.

Basins of the Indus and Ganges. Within the area of Āryāvarta or Hindustan we must distinguish the basin of the Indus and its tributaries, comprising the Panjāb, Sind, Cutch, and Rājputāna to the west of the Āravalli hills, from the basin of the Ganges and its affluents. The history of the countries along the lower course of the Ganges, the modern province of Bengal, is distinct in large measure from that of the countries along the upper course of the same river, now mostly included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. South Bihār and Tirhūt, the ancient Magadha and Mithilā, although now under the government of Bengal, are associated historically rather more with the upper than with the lower provinces. The outlying peninsula of Surāshtra, or Kāthiāwār, being most easily accessible through Mālwā, was often included in the northern empires of the Gangetic basin.

The 'Lost River'. The extensive desert which now occupies so large an area in Rājputāna and Sind was much smaller in ancient times, when the 'Lost River', the Hakrā or Wahindah, flowed through the Bahāwalpur State, and with its tributaries fertilized wide regions now desolate. During the Muhammadan period that river was the recognized boundary between Sind and Hind, or India Proper. It disappeared finally in the eighteenth century, but its ancient channels and the ruins of forgotten cities on their banks may be seen still. Failure to appreciate the enormous scale of the changes in the courses of the rivers of Northern India has caused much misunderstanding of history. In olden days the command of the rivers was as important as the command of the sea is now.

The Western and Eastern Ghāts; the plain of Tinnivelly. The long chain of hills or mountains of moderate height, known as the Sahyādri or Western Ghāts, which extends, with only one short break at Pālghāt, from the Narbadā to Cape Comorin, plays an important part in Indian history. It shuts off from the interior highlands the low-lying fertile strip of land between the hills and the sea, called the Konkans, which has been the seat of trade with Europe since remote ages. The passes, which do not change like rivers, have necessarily determined the lines of intercourse between the coast and the kingdoms of the interior. The facilities for erecting forts on the flat-topped hills of the Ghāts and Deccan have largely influenced the course of history, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Marāthā power was based on the possession of the hill-fortresses. The ill-defined range of the Eastern Ghāts has less historical significance. The arid plain of Tinnivelly and Madura in the south-east of the peninsula is a well-marked natural feature which became the seat of a separate kingdom, that of the Pāndyas, at a very early date.

The temptations of India. The wealth extracted by an industrious population from the teeming soil of the hot northern plains has always been a temptation to the hardy



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represent the earliest or original inhabitants, so far as can be ascertained. Attempts, based chiefly upon philology, are sometimes made to distinguish races—Kolarian, Dravidian, and so forth—among these 'aborigines', but with little success. The tall, fair people certainly came in from the north-west, and the earliest invaders of whom we know anything, the people of the *Rigveda* hymns, called themselves Aryans, or 'kinsmen'. Their blood may be assumed to flow in the veins of certain Brahmans and other classes at the present day, but it is mixed with strains derived from later invaders of similar physical type. The question of the original seat of the Aryan stock, one branch of which entered India from about 1500 B. C. or earlier, has given rise to many theories, which agree only in not being proved. It is, however, safe to say that the Aryan settlers in India were akin to the Persians or Iranians, and probably to many other races of Asia and Europe.

Indo-Aryans. These Aryan settlers in India are conveniently called Indo-Aryans to distinguish them from the continental Aryans on the other side of the passes. The Pārsī or Persian colonies, whose ancestors, fleeing from Muhammadan persecution, reached Western India in the eighth century, may be regarded as Aryans of pure blood. The earliest settlements of the Vedic Indo-Aryans undoubtedly were made in the Panjāb, the 'land of the five rivers', or 'of the seven rivers', according to an ancient reckoning. Thence the strangers spread slowly over Northern India, advancing chiefly along the Ganges and Jumna, but making use also of the Indus route. One section seems to have moved eastwards along the base of the mountains into Mithilā or Tirhūt. The distinctive Brahmanical system was evolved, not in the Panjāb, but in the upper Ganges valley in the Delhi region, between the Sutlaj and Jumna. Manu honours the small tract between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī rivers by the title of Brahmāvarta, 'the land of the gods,' giving the name of Brahmarshidesa, or 'the land of divine sages', to the larger region comprising Brahmāvarta or Kurukshetra (Thānēsar), with the

addition of Matsya (Eastern Rājputāna), Panchāla (between the Ganges and Jumna), and Surasena (Mathurā). When the treatise ascribed to Manu assumed its present shape, perhaps about 200 or 300 A. D., the whole space between the Himalaya and the Vindhyas from sea to sea was acknowledged to be Āryāvarta, 'the Aryan territory.' The Indo-Aryan advance thus indicated must have been spread over many centuries. As they advanced the Aryans subdued, more or less completely, the 'aborigines', whom they called *Dasyus*, and by other names.

Southern expansion of Aryans checked. The central forest barrier, or Mahākāntāra (*ante*, p. 14), long checked the Aryan advance towards the south, and, indeed, no large body of Aryan settlers can be proved to have passed it. But, in course of time, the ideas and customs of the Aryans spread all over India, even into lands where the people have little or no Aryan blood in their veins. Tradition credits the Rishi Agastya with the introduction of Aryan Hindu institutions into the South.

Aryan languages. The Indo-Aryans spoke a language which in a later literary form became known as Sanskrit, and belonged to the same family as Persian, Latin, Greek, English, and many other Asiatic and European languages. From the early Indo-Aryan speech during the course of ages Marāthī, Hindī, Bengālī, and other languages of Northern India have been evolved. But multitudes of people who are not Aryan by descent now speak Aryan languages. Community of language is no proof of community of blood.

Immigration from the north-east. Strangers distinct from the Aryans, and belonging to the Mongoloid type of mankind, more or less akin to the Chinese, came down from the north-eastern hills, and are believed to form a considerable element in the population of Eastern Bengal and Assam. This movement from the north-east was of minor importance compared with the Aryan immigration from the north-west.

Dravidians. The people of the south are described as Dravidians because Dravida was the old name of the Tamil

country. Some writers extend the meaning of the term Dravidian so as to comprise most of the so-called aboriginal races, even in the north, but such an extension of a purely geographical name is not to be commended. The Southerners undoubtedly include several distinct races, but almost all of the short, dark type. The Tamils are the most important. Learned men have many theories about the origin of these races, which agree only in their uncertainty. No positive assertion on the subject is justified.

Dravidian languages and civilization. The principal languages spoken in the south, namely Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayālam, and Tulu, which are closely related one to the other, form a group or family totally distinct from the Aryan, and known to philologists as the Dravidian family. It is equally distinct from the Kolarian or Munda family spoken by many of the so-called aboriginal tribes. Tamil, a rich and copious tongue, the most cultivated of the Dravidian group, possesses a fine early literature, perfectly independent of the Sanskrit. Although our knowledge of the ancient life of the Dravidian nations is scanty, enough is known to justify the assertion that they were far from being rude barbarians when Aryan teachers first reached them, several centuries before the Christian era.

The foreign elements of the Indian population. As already observed, the origin of the southern races is not known, and foreign immigration from the north into the south cannot be proved to have taken place on a large scale. The known foreign elements in the Indian population came in mainly from the north-west and settled to the north of the Vindhyas. It will be useful to state briefly what those elements are. The first swarm of immigrants about which anything can be ascertained is that of the Indo-Aryans (*ante*, p. 19), whose movement undoubtedly lasted for centuries.

The Sakas. In the second century B.C. we begin to hear of the Sakas, hordes of nomad tribes from Central Asia, who descended on the Indian plains, formed settlements in the

Panjāb, with extensions probably as far as Mathurā, and occupied Kāthiāwār or Surāshtra, of which they became the masters. The ancient Indians having been accustomed to use the term Saka in a vague way to denote all foreigners from the other side of the passes, without nice distinctions of race and tribe, it is possible that many of the people called Sakas may have been akin to the Aryans of the olden time.

The Yuehchi or Kushāns (Kusana). The third recorded inrush of strangers from Central Asia in large numbers began in the first century A. D. At that time the leading horde was known to the Chinese historians, the principal source of information on the subject, as the Yuehchi, a people probably akin to the Turks, and perhaps to the Aryans. The Kushāns (Kusana), the principal clan or sept among the Yuehchi, founded a powerful empire in Northern India, the history of which will be noticed in Chapter VI.

The White Huns or Ephthalites. Indistinct indications suggest that India was invaded by Persians or Iranians in the third century A. D., but the next clearly proved irruption took place in the fifth and sixth centuries, when multitudes of fierce folk from the Asiatic steppes swooped down on Persia and India. The Indians called them all by the name of Hūnas, a term used vaguely like the term Sakas, and covering, no doubt, many different hordes or tribes. European writers distinguish the Indian Hūnas as the White Huns, or Ephthalites, from the other Huns who invaded Europe. As in the case of the Sakas, we cannot say positively whether or not the White Huns were akin to the fair, tall Aryans and Turks, or to the small yellow-faced Mongols. But it is now known that many existing Rājpūt clans and other castes—Gūjars, Jats, Kāthi, &c.—are descendants of either the Hūnas or the Gurjaras and other similar hordes which followed them. The appearance of the Rājpūts, Jats, and Gūjars indicates that their foreign ancestors must have belonged to one of the fair, tall types of mankind, and not to the yellow-faced, narrow-eyed, Mongoloid type.

Muhammadan settlements. In the seventh century the new religion of Muhammad, the Arabian prophet, who died in 632, excited in his Arab fellow-countrymen an ardent zeal which inspired them to convert multitudes of the Asiatic and African peoples, and to conquer with amazing rapidity some of the best regions in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Early in the eighth century the Arabs effected a permanent settlement in Sind. In the next century (870 A. D.) they seized Kābul, the main gate of India. From the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī (1000 A. D.) to the eighteenth century, with some intervals, a stream of Muslim immigrants of various races flowed into India and largely modified the character of the population. These Muslim immigrants mostly belonged to the fair type.

Lasting effect of the early Aryan immigration. Thus it appears that for thousands of years millions of foreigners, beginning with the Vedic Aryans, and mostly fair-skinned people, have kept pouring into India and mingling their blood with that of the earlier dark inhabitants. The strangest fact in the story is that the most profound effect was wrought by the earliest swarm of immigrants, the Vedic Aryans, who have stamped an indelible mark on the institutions of India, and given the country as a whole its distinctive character. Sakas, Yuehchi, Hunas, and many other alien tribes who came in later are now mere names. They have left scarcely a trace of their peculiar institutions or customs, and have been swallowed up in the gulf of Hinduism. Modern Hinduism, however much it may differ from the religious and social system of the ancient Rishis, undoubtedly has its roots in the institutions of the Vedic Aryans, and not in those of subsequent immigrants. In the next chapter some of the effects of the Aryan occupation will be considered.

CHAPTER III

Early Hindu civilization : the Vedas ; *Smriti* ; the Purānas ; the epics ; Buddhism and Jainism ; caste.

The four Vedas. Although it is true that few of the modern Hindus possess an intimate knowledge of the Vedic literature, and that the Hinduism of recent times has little obvious connexion with the teaching of that literature, it is also true that nearly all Hindus profess to revere the Vedas and regard them, especially the *Upanishads*, in theory as the foundation of their system of life. Some account of the Vedic literature, the gift of the Aryans, therefore, is an indispensable introduction to the history of ancient and modern India.

The word Veda means 'knowledge', and specially the philosophical and religious knowledge which Hindus believe to have been revealed to the most ancient Aryan sages (*ṛishis*). The books imparting such knowledge are known as 'the four Vedas'.

Contents of the four Vedas. Each Veda may be said to comprise three parts, all ranking as *śruti*, or revelation, namely (1) a collection or collections (*saṁhitā*) of hymns, prayers, invocations, or spells (*mantra*) ; (2) prose treatises, designed to explain the meaning of the ritual of sacrifice and to serve as textbooks for the use of Brahmans (*Brāhmaṇa*) ; and (3) philosophical discourses (*Upanishad*), chiefly devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of the identity of the world-soul with the individual soul (*ātman, brahma*), and the means of escape from the evils of existence by absorption into the world-soul. Technically the *Upanishads* form part of the *Brāhmaṇas*, which also include supplementary treatises called *Āraṇyakas*, specially designed for the study of advanced students living in the solitudes of forests (*araṇya*). But the matter of the *Upanishads* differs so much from that of the other parts of the *Brāhmaṇas*, that they may be regarded with

propriety as forming a distinct section of the Vedas. Some *Upanishads* are presented as chapters of *Āraṇyakas*, while others stand alone. The *Upanishads* are the foundation of the later and more systematic Vedānta philosophy. Their metaphysical doctrine is summed up in the formula *tat tvam asi*, 'thou art that.' They also give the earliest indication of the doctrine of *karma*, so prominent afterwards in Buddhism, and defined by Manu in the words :—'action of every kind, whether of mind, or speech, or body, produces results.good or evil, and causes the various conditions of men, highest, lowest, or intermediate.'

The Rigveda and Sāmaveda saṁhitās. The oldest *saṁhitā*, that of the Rigveda (*ṛich* = stanza of praise), comprises 1,017 hymns in praise of the various powers of nature—the sky, fire, winds, and so forth—worshipped as gods. Occasionally the poets rise to a higher level, and dimly perceive 'the only God above the gods'. Some of these hymns must be as old as 1500 B. C., and may be much older. The Sāmaveda *Saṁhita*, which is merely a book of chants (*sāman*), nearly all taken from the Rigveda, is of comparatively slight importance. The chants relate to the *soma* sacrifices. The *soma* was a plant, the identity of which still is matter of dispute.

The Yajurveda saṁhitā. The Yajurveda *saṁhitā*, existing in two principal forms, the Black and White, is mainly composed of original matter, half in prose, although it includes some hymns, amounting to about one-fourth of the whole, extracted from the Rigveda. It may be described as a book of sacrificial prayers, and its compilation is the work of a period when unduly high value was attached to sacrificial ritual, and 'the truly religious spirit' of the Rigveda had been obscured by formalism. The comparatively late date of this Veda is indicated by the fact that the Hindu holy land, which for the poets of the Rigveda was the Panjāb, the basin of the Indus and its tributaries, is shifted in the Yajurveda to Brahmāvarta or Kurukshetra, in the Gangetic basin, between the Sutlaj and the Jumna.

The Atharvaveda saṁhitā. The Atharvaveda *saṁhitā*, of which about the sixth part is in prose, consists mainly of a collection of spells, charms, and incantations for use in sorcery and witchcraft. Although many of these formulas evidently have come down from extremely remote times, the collection as a whole was not recognized as a Veda until long after the sanctity of the other three Vedas had been established, and its authority still is denied by some of the leading Brahmans of the south. Nevertheless, as early as 150 B. C., the grammarian Patanjali considered it to be 'the head of the Vedas', and the compilation of the work must be referred to a time several centuries before that date, and not later than 600 B. C.

The Brāhmanas, Upanishads, and Sūtras. Although it is impossible to date the Brāhmana treatises with any approach to accuracy, their composition is supposed to have taken place between 500 and 300 B.C. The oldest of the numerous Upanishads, which are of widely different ages, may go back as far as 700 or 600 B. C. The Vedic *sūtras* (about 500–200 B. C.) are compressed treatises dealing chiefly with ritual and customary law in aphorisms, or terse sayings, reduced to the utmost possible limits of brevity. They are classed as *Śrauta*, dealing with ritual; *Gṛihya*, dealing with domestic ceremonies; and *Dharma*, dealing with custom, including law.

The Vedāngas. All the works composed in this strange style are considered to be *Vedāngas*, or members of the Veda, and as such are divided into six groups, namely, (1) phonetics or pronunciation (*śikshā*); (2) metre (*chhandas*); (3) grammar (*vyākaraṇa*); (4) etymology (*nirukta*); (5) religious practice (*kalpa*); and (6) astronomy or astrology (*jyotisha*). In ancient times the Vedic literature being taught solely by word of mouth, trained linguistic, grammatical, and metrical skill was needed to secure the correct preservation and transmission of the sacred texts. Astronomical and astrological knowledge was equally necessary to determine the dates of eclipses, the lucky days for ceremonies, and so forth. Thus all ancient

Hindu science sprang from religious needs and served religious and ritual purposes.

Pānini. The oldest extant Sanskrit grammar, the wonderful work composed in *sūtra* style by Pānini, a native of the Panjāb, was constructed in the first instance, like its numerous lost predecessors, to ensure accurate teaching of the sacred books by highly trained Brahmans. The passion of the ancient writers for brevity is expressed by the saying that the composer of a grammatical *sūtra* would have delighted as much in the saving of a short vowel as in the birth of a son. Pānini's work is so compressed, that although it deals with the whole Sanskrit language, it could be printed in thirty-five small octavo pages. The date of this prince of grammarians is uncertain, some authorities placing him in the fourth century B. C., and others, apparently with better reason, two or three centuries earlier. Yāska, who wrote an etymological commentary on the Vedas, long preceded Pānini.

Smṛiti; Manu, &c. The whole of the *sūtra* literature is regarded as *smṛiti*, or venerable traditional matter, not as *śruti*, or direct revelation, like the Vedas. The six systems of philosophy (*darśana*) were developed from the *Upanishads* in course of time, and the law-books (*dharmaśāstra*) based on the *sūtras*, were composed at various dates by the Brahman teachers of different schools, as manuals of *dharma*, or the Hindu rules of life. The most famous of the *dharmaśāstras* is the *Mānava*, commonly called the Laws, or Institutes, of Manu, a compilation which contains much ancient matter, but is supposed to date in its present form from somewhere about 200 or 300 A. D. This treatise deals with the rights and duties of Hindus in all ranks and conditions of life, and is the foundation of the systems of modified Hindu law now administered by the courts of British India.

The eighteen Purānas. The eighteen *Purānas*, which record the story of the gods, interwoven with legends and traditions on many subjects human and divine, are closely connected with the Laws of Manu as well as with the epics.

They have been described as being 'the Veda of popular Hinduism', and sometimes are even called 'the fifth Veda'. The *Bhāgavata* and *Vishnu Purānas* exercise the most influence on the religion of the present day. The *Vāyu Purāna*, believed to be the oldest of the eighteen, seems to date in its present shape from the fourth century A. D., but much of its contents may be far older. It is intimately related to the *Harivaṁśa*, which is a supplement to the Mahābhārata. Historical traditions of high value to the historian of northern India are preserved in several of the earlier *Purānas*. This class of works has little or no concern with the south.

The Epics. The two great Sanskrit epics (*itihāsa*), the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, are invaluable as pictures of life in ancient India before the time when authentic history begins. The Rāmāyana, which consists of about 24,000 couplets (*ślokas*), divided into seven books, is essentially the work of a single author, Vālmīki, to which subsequent additions of moderate bulk have been made. The Mahābhārata, more than four times as bulky, and divided into eighteen books, although traditionally ascribed to a mythical author named Vyāsa, really is a collection of many separate poems by various nameless poets of different ages, loosely strung together and appended to an original narrative comprising only about 24,000 couplets. The bulk of the Rāmāyana is believed to have been composed before 500 B. C., but some of the additions seem to be several centuries later. The Mahābhārata, which in its present form is rather 'an encyclopaedia of moral teaching' than an epic properly so called, includes compositions supposed to range in date between 400 B. C. and 400 A. D.

Story of the Rāmāyana. The main theme of Vālmīki's poem is the story of Prince Rāma, son of Dasaratha, king of Ajodhya, who was driven into exile along with Sītā, his faithful wife, in consequence of a palace intrigue. In the course of his wanderings, accompanied by his brother, Lakshmana, in the wild regions of the south Rāma suffered the loss of his consort, who was carried off by the giant Rāvana. But the hero, after

many adventures, rescued his wife, and defeated and slew the giant. In the end, Rāma and Sītā, having been delivered from all their troubles, returned to Ajodhya, where Rāma and his loyal brother Bharata reigned gloriously over a happy and contented people.

Story of the Mahābhārata. The subject of the truly epic portion of the Mahābhārata is the Great War between the Kauravas, the hundred sons of Dhritarāshtra, led by Duryodhana, and the Pāndavas, the five sons of Pāndu, brother of Dhritarāshtra, led by Yudhishthira. The poet relates all the circumstances leading up to the war, and then narrates the tale of the fierce conflict which raged for eighteen days on the plain of Kurukshetra, near Thānēsar, to the north of Delhi. All the nations and tribes of India, from the Himalaya to the farthest south, are represented as taking part in this combat of giants. The Pāndava host comprised the armies of the states situated in the countries equivalent to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Western Bihār, and Eastern Rājputāna, with contingents from Gujarāt in the west and from the Dravidian kingdoms of the extreme south. The Kaurava cause was upheld by the forces of Eastern Bihār, Bengal, the Himalaya, and the Panjāb. The battles ended in the utter destruction of nearly all the combatants on both sides, excepting Dhritarāshtra and the Pāndavas. But a reconciliation was effected between the few survivors, and Yudhishthira Pāndava was recognized as king of Hastināpur on the Ganges. Ultimately the five sons of Pāndu, accompanied by Draupadī, the beloved wife of them all, and attended by a faithful dog, quitted their royal state, and, journeying to Mount Meru, were admitted into Indra's heaven.

Episodes of the Mahābhārata. One of the most justly celebrated narrative episodes is the charming story of Nala and Damayantī. The profound philosophical poem, the *Bhagavadgītā*, familiarly known as the *Gītā*, or 'the Song', which forms the basis of much later pantheistic speculation, and may date from about 100 or 200 B.C., is inserted in the form of a dialogue

between Krishna and Arjuna Pāndava, supposed to have been spoken on the eve of battle.

Influence of the epics. These few words, of course, give a very inadequate notion of the contents of the two great *itihāsas*, which are the one department of Sanskrit literature familiar in substance to Hindus of all classes in every part of India. These poems are to India all that Homer's reputed works were to Greece, and, like the Homeric poems, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana form inexhaustible treasure-houses filled with material for every kind of literature. The characters in both works supply the Hindu with examples of his highest ideal of man and woman. The hero Rāma, especially, has become the man-God of countless millions and the object of intense devotion.

The Hindī Rāmāyana. In Northern India the popular conception of the perfect man is derived, not directly from the Sanskrit of Vālmīki, but from the *Rāmcharit-mānas*, a Hindī poem on the subject of the Rāmāyana, composed in the sixteenth century by Tulsī Dās. This noble work is an independent composition of the highest merit, and the characters depicted in it 'live and move with all the dignity of a heroic age'.

Southern literature. The ancient Indian literature and philosophy known generally to the outer world are Aryan in origin and Sanskrit in language, as indicated in the foregoing sketch. But the historian of all India must not forget the fact, already noted, that the Tamil or Dravidian peoples of the Far South possessed an ancient civilization of uncertain origin independent of, and even hostile to, the Aryan system of the north. They produced an extensive literature, chiefly in the Tamil language, which includes epics, lyrics, and philosophical poems. These compositions, although enshrined in the hearts of the southerners, are unfamiliar to readers of other nations. The few European scholars sufficiently versed in the language to appreciate the charms of the Tamil poetry are loud in their praise of its merits, and the translations published justify their verdict.

Buddhism and Jainism. About 500 B.C., a time when speculation was active in several parts of the world, two systems of religious philosophy, which developed into separate religions, took shape in the north of India. These two systems, Buddhism and Jainism, both grew out of Brahmanical Hinduism, as modified by the teaching of reformers of noble Kshatriya, not Brahman birth, who failed to find in the doctrine of the Brahman schools satisfactory solutions of the problems of life. Both of the new systems were preached first, at about the same time, in the same region, namely Magadha, or South Bihār, and the neighbouring districts. Both rely on the support of an organized society of monks or friars, reject the authority of the Vedas and the exclusive claims of the Brahmans, abhor bloody sacrifices, and teach with insistence the doctrine of extreme respect for every form of animal life (*ahiṁsā*). These obvious and real resemblances between Buddhism and Jainism are balanced by differences, equally real, if less obvious. The followers of the two creeds revere distinct saints, study distinct scriptures, and diverge widely in both doctrine and practice. The Jains do honour to twenty-four Jinas or Tīrthankaras; the Buddhists to twenty-four Buddhas. The Jain scriptures are called *Angas* and by other names; the Buddhist books form the great collection known as the *Tripiṭaka*, or 'Three Baskets', dealing with doctrine, monastic discipline, and philosophical comment and speculation. The Pāli books of Ceylon give the Buddhist Canon in its earliest known form. Later developments are dealt with in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese works. While both Jains and Buddhists profess to venerate the Three Jewels (*triratna*), they use the term in different senses. To the Buddhist the Three Jewels are the Buddha, the Law (*dharma*), and the Order of Monks (*saṁgha*). To the Jains they are Right Faith, Right Cognition, and Right Morals. The Jains are divided into two great sects, the Svetāmbara, or white-robed, and the Digambara, or nude (lit. 'sky-clad'). The nudity affected by the latter is extremely offensive to Buddhist feeling. The

practice of suicide by starvation, which is highly esteemed by the Jains, is strictly forbidden to the Buddhists. These instances will suffice to show that Buddhism and Jainism, notwithstanding their points of resemblance, are radically different. The actual facts of the lives of the founders of the Jain and Buddhist systems are obscured, like those of the founders of all religions, by legends due to the imaginations of pious followers, but the following brief statement may be accepted as authentic:—

Life of Mahāvīra. Vardhamāna, surnamed Mahāvīra, a young nobleman of Vaisāli, the modern Basār to the north of Patna, then the chief city of the famous Licchhavi tribe, joined an ascetic order which had been founded by an ancient teacher named Pārsvanāth. Becoming dissatisfied with the doctrine of his masters, he quitted their fraternity when about forty years of age, and, like many another Hindu reformer, set about devising a system of his own and organizing a new society of friars to give effect to his opinions. He spent the remaining thirty years of his life in preaching tours, wandering with his disciples all over South Bihār (Magadha) and Tirhūt (Mithilā or Videha), until he died at Pāwā or Pāpā in the Patna district. General tradition assigns his death to the year 527 B. C., but the exact year is open to doubt. His relationship through his mother with the reigning kings of Videha, Magadha, and Anga (Bhāgalpur) gained for his preaching the advantage of official patronage.

Life of Gautama Buddha. Gautama, surnamed the Buddha, because he claimed to have attained *bodhi*, or supreme knowledge, the secret of existence, was the younger contemporary of Mahāvīra. His father, Suddhodhana, was a prince or nobleman in the small town of Kapilavastu, situated in the territory of the Sākya clan, which took rank among the Kshatriyas. Hence he is often called Sākyamuni, or the Sākya sage. The land of the Sākyas was the narrow strip of country between the Rāptī river and the mountains, now mostly included in

the Nepalese Tarāi, and lying to the north of the Basti District.

The legends dwell with much play of imagination on the manner in which the young prince became oppressed by sadness and lost all desire for the delights of a court. He became convinced that existence is misery, leading to old age, disease, and death, and sought an escape from the endless circle of rebirth. Sitting under a tree near Gayā, he tried to win salvation by the severest penance, but found no peace. At last he saw the light, put away penance as vanity, and, going to Benares, preached to a few disciples his three great principles that 'all the constituents of being are transitory, are misery, and are lacking in an ego, or permanent self (*ātman*)'. His philosophy was based on those doctrines, but as a moralist he taught a lofty system of practical ethics, impressing on men the necessity for personal striving after holiness, and laying special stress on the virtues of truthfulness, reverence to superiors, and respect for animal life. Like Mahāvīra, he wandered for the rest of his life with his disciples through Magadha and the neighbouring kingdoms, and, after a ministry of forty-five years, passed away at the age of eighty at Kusinagara, a small town probably situated near Tribenī Ghāt, at the confluence of the Little Rāptī with the Gandak. The date of his death is uncertain, but there is good reason for believing that the event happened in or about 487 B.C.

Diffusion of Buddhism. From these small beginnings arose the great Buddhist religion, which, after many ages of success in India, slowly died out, and finally disappeared from the land of its birth about seven centuries ago. But it still flourishes abundantly in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Nepāl, Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan. The well-organized order of monks and nuns (*saṅgha*) was the most powerful instrument in the spread of this religion.

Jainism confined to India. Jainism never attempted such distant conquests. Although it became powerful in the South as well as in the North for several centuries, it

never spread to any considerable extent beyond the limits of India, and now tends to decline rather than increase in influence. Its followers number about a million and a quarter, and are mostly found among the trading classes of Western India and Rājputāna.

Progress and decline of both religions. The progress and decline of both these religions in connexion with political changes during twenty-five centuries will be noticed from time to time in the course of this history. However great may have been the favour shown by particular kings or dynasties to the teachings of Mahāvīra or Gautama, the still more ancient Brahmanical faith never died out, but, throughout the ages, in one shape or another, retained its hold on great masses of the people, and eventually succeeded in squeezing Buddhism out of existence on Indian soil and in reducing Jainism to comparative insignificance.

Dravidian resistance to the Aryan religions. The three northern religions—Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism—had to fight a long fight against the native 'devil-worship' of the Dravidian or Tamil nations in the South, who long resisted Aryan teaching in any form. But ultimately the resistance of the southerners was overcome, and, after the decay of Buddhism and Jainism, Hinduism emerged triumphant, India from end to end becoming the 'land of the Brahmans' and the home of caste, the specially Brahman institution.

Gradual growth of caste. The institution of caste, to which the world cannot offer any close parallel, was of slow growth. The word is Portuguese; the thing is so peculiarly Indian that it separates India from the rest of the globe by a barrier far more impassable than deserts, seas, or mountains. More than two hundred millions of Hindus are now broken up into thousands of distinct communities, each of which is kept apart from its neighbours by strict rules regulating marriage, diet, and every detail of life. Nothing like this state of things exists, or is known ever to have existed elsewhere. The Rigveda refers to the system only in one of the latest

hymns, the *Purushasūkta* (x. 90), which is subsequent to the compilation of the Sāmaveda and Yajurveda; and even at the time of the rise of Buddhism, in the fifth century B.C., caste was 'still in the making'. But in the fourth century B.C. the Greek accounts show that the existing system was already established in parts of Northern India, although for many centuries afterwards inter-marriages between different castes were permitted which could not be thought of in these days. The Dravidian races of the South, now the strictest upholders of social restrictions, long resisted the introduction of caste, as they opposed other Aryan notions and practices. But they had to give in, and in course of time most of them became more Brahman than the Brahmans.

The four castes. The later Vedic literature and the Hindu law-books composed by Brahman authors teach that there are only four 'pure' castes: (1) Brahmans, the guardians and teachers of the sacred traditions; (2) Kshatriyas, the fighting and ruling classes; (3) Vaisyas, tradespeople and agriculturists; and (4) Sūdras, all the common folk, who were not recognized as Aryans. The Brahmans are supposed to proceed from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaisyas from the thighs, and the Sūdras from the feet of Brāhma. All castes which would not fit into this framework were described as 'mixed', fanciful origins being assigned to them. This theoretical scheme certainly does not apply to the complex facts of caste at the present day, and apparently never agreed with the reality of things at any time. The claim of the Brahman to the first place in social rank was not always admitted. The early Buddhist books assign that place to the Kshatriya, sometimes referring with scorn to 'base-born' Brahmans; and even now certain castes and sects—for example, Jāts and Lingāyats—are hostile to Brahman pretensions.

The four stages of a Brahman's life. In theory every Brahman was supposed to divide his life into four stages (*āśrama*): firstly, for many years as a student; secondly, as

a married householder; thirdly, as a hermit in the forest; and fourthly, as a religious mendicant or beggar.

Absorbent power of the caste system. The rigid caste system as it exists at the present day takes notice of Hindus only; all outsiders, native or foreign, high or low, being regarded as *mlecchas*, or casteless people. Nevertheless, the system has always shown a wonderful power of absorption, and almost all foreigners resident permanently in India have yielded to its seductions. Yavanas, Sakas, Hūnas, and many other swarms of foreign immigrants have disappeared, losing their separate existence in the sea of caste, either through being admitted into old castes by the help of legal fictions, or through the formation of new castes. Even Islam, the principles of which are utterly hostile to caste distinctions, has been unable to resist the pressure, and multitudes of Indian Muhammadans, like their Hindu neighbours, are fast bound in the trammels of caste.

The ascetic orders and caste. The ascetic orders, whether orthodox Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist, usually have been and still are willing to admit to membership persons of almost any caste, and to ignore distinctions of birth among the brethren. Some writers erroneously have supposed Buddhism to have been a revolt against caste, but as a matter of fact the lay Buddhist retained his caste, just as the Jain layman does now. It is, however, true that the free offer of the way of salvation, made to all comers by both Buddhism and Jainism, clashed with the Brahman doctrine that the teaching of the highest truths should be reserved for the highest castes, and so far diminished the importance of caste distinctions. But neither Mahāvīra nor Gautama sought to abolish caste.

Origin of caste. The origin of this peculiar Indian institution, so beneficial in some respects and so hurtful in others, has given rise to much discussion. The result of all the writing is not satisfactory, and Sir Herbert Risley, a leading authority on the subject, confesses that he finds the question an 'insoluble problem'. The ultimate beginning of caste may,

perhaps, be said to lie in the difference of colour (*varṇa*) between the fair Aryan settler and the dark 'aborigine'. Next in importance to fundamental difference in blood and colour comes difference of occupation. There is always a strong tendency for any given occupation to pass on from father to son, so that a man is born a carpenter, or as the case may be. Persons united by the bond of common occupation readily form a caste in India. Sometimes a new caste is formed by a colony separating from the head quarters and moving to a distant settlement. The physical separateness of India as a whole (*ante*, p. 12), and the tendency of each village community to lead a self-contained existence without regard to its neighbours, have had much to do with the growth of the Indian sentiment, which regards each caste as a *jāt*, or species set apart by birth and divine ordinance. Of course difference of religion too has had its share in the formation of castes, some of which are based mainly on religious bonds. But in other lands people have differed in blood, colour, occupation, religion, and residence without splitting up into countless fragments, isolated one from the other, and nobody has yet succeeded in giving a clearly intelligible explanation of the fact that the Indian caste system is unlike any other social institution, past or present, in the whole world.

The numerous books which profess to explain the whole mystery in a few lines, and make bold assertions to the effect that 'it was thus that the caste system was formed in India', mislead the student by representing as simple a problem which really is one of the utmost difficulty, and still defies solution.

BOOK II

HINDU INDIA FROM 600 B.C. TO 1193 A.D.; MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.

CHAPTER IV

The dynasties preceding the Mauryas: Kosala; Magadha; the Nandas; Alexander the Great.

Beginning of regular history. The preceding chapters have dealt with events which, excepting the foundation of the Jain and Buddhist systems, cannot be dated. Regular history is concerned only with events which can be arranged in order of time and are capable of being dated approximately, if not exactly. In the case of India such history cannot be attempted before about 600 B.C., when we obtain a glimpse of a few definite political facts. But even then, and for nearly three centuries later, our knowledge is extremely scanty, and almost wholly confined to certain states in the Gangetic basin.

Sixteen Northern powers. The most ancient Buddhist books give a list of sixteen states or tribal territories which existed in Northern India about the time of the rise of Buddhism or a little earlier. These extended from Gandhāra, the country of the Gāndhāras, on the extreme north-west of the Panjāb, including the modern districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpindi, to Avanti, or Mālwā, with its capital Ujjain, which still retains its ancient name unchanged. Among these sixteen states two are prominent in tradition, namely, Kosala, or the territory of the Kosalās, and Magadha, or the territory of the Māgadhās.

Magadha. The kingdom of Magadha (S. Bihār), approximately equivalent originally to the Gayā and Patna districts south of the Ganges, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as having attained the rank of a paramount power under King Jarāsandha. The earliest capital was the hill fort of Rājagriha or

Rājgīr (Girivraja). The most ancient king who can be approximately dated was Sisunāga (about 600 B. C.), but nothing is known about him or his next three succesors.

Bimbisāra; Ajātasatru; Darius. Bimbisāra, or Srenika, the fifth Saisunāga king, is credited with the foundation of New Rājgīr, the outer town at the base of the hill, and with the annexation of the small kingdom to the east, Anga or Champa, equivalent to the Bhāgalpur District, and probably including Monghyr (Mūngīr). This annexation was the first step in Magadha's progress to greatness during historical times. After a reign of twenty-eight years Bimbisāra abdicated in favour of his son Ajātasatru, or Kuniya, who would not await the course of nature, and cruelly starved his father to death. Gautama Buddha is said to have met Ajātasatru and reproved him for his crime. A fort built by this king at Pātali, to check the incursions of the Licchhavis of Vaisāli from the north side of the river, developed into the magnificent city of Pātaliputra, the modern Patna and Bankipore.

About 500 B. C., in the reign of either Bimbisāra or Ajātasatru, for dates are uncertain, Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of Persia, sent an expedition commanded by Skylax of Karyanda, to explore the rivers of the Panjāb. The admiral reached the sea, and the Indus valley became a province of the Persian empire, to which it yielded a large revenue. Indian archers were included in the Persian army defeated at Plataea, in Greece, in 479 B. C.

Kosala. Bimbisāra of Magadha was married to the sister of Prasenajit, king of Kosala, who naturally went to war with Ajātasatru when he murdered his father. The war was waged with varying fortune, but ultimately peace was made and Prasenajit gave a daughter to Ajātasatru in marriage. Some three years later, Virūdhaka, Crown Prince, rebelled against his father Prasenajit, who fled to the capital of his former enemy of Magadha, but died before he entered the gates. Virūdhaka succeeded to the throne of Kosala, and is remembered as the author of a cruel massacre of the Sākyas, the kinsmen of

Buddha. After his time the kingdom of Kosala was overshadowed by the growing power of Magadha. At an early date Kosala had absorbed the smaller kingdom of Kāsi or Benares, and when at its greatest extent included the whole of Oudh, and all the country between the Ganges, the Gandak, and the mountains. The capital was the city of Srāvasti, on the upper course of the Rāptī, of which the exact position is disputed. The whole of this territory passed under the rule of Magadha, but we cannot fix the date.

The 'Nine Nandas'. Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of the last Śaisunāga king, Mahānandin, by a Sudra woman, usurped his father's throne, and is said to have been succeeded by his eight sons. The dynasty of two generations is therefore known to tradition as that of the Nine Nandas. Mahāpadma was reigning when Alexander the Great was in India, and the invader was told that the king of Magadha possessed an army of 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 chariots, and 3,000 or 4,000 war elephants; but he was so unpopular that there was reason to believe his army would not support him. Alexander did not get the chance of testing the accuracy of this information, as his own troops refused to plunge farther into unknown country.

Alexander the Great. Alexander, king of Macedon, in the north of Greece, in the course of the years from 334 to 331 B. C. had conquered Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, defeating the Persian monarch, Darius Codomannus, in three pitched battles, and taking his place. Having resolved to conquer India, he crossed the Indus in February or March, 326, and was hospitably received by the king of Taxila, then a great city, the ruins of which are traceable near Hasan Abdāl, in the Attock District, Panjāb. The Rājā of the country between the Indus and the Jihlam or Hydaspes river, whom Greek and Roman writers call Porus, tried to stop the invader, but was defeated in a battle near Jihlam. Alexander then pushed on across the rivers of the Panjāb, until he came to the last of them, the Biās or Hyphasis, when his European troops refused to go on, and

he was obliged to turn back. Meantime his officers had built near Jihlam a fleet of about 2,000 vessels, on which he embarked part of his army. The rest marched along the banks of the Hydaspes and other rivers, and after ten months the whole force, fighting its way, reached the mouths of the Indus. The fleet sailed round by sea to the Persian Gulf, and Alexander himself led a division of his army through Baluchistan or Gedrosia into Persia, having sent another division back to that country by the Kandahar route. In June, 323 B. C., Alexander died at Babylon, aged thirty-two. No other man in the history of the world ever accomplished so much in so short a time and at such an early age.

He intended to annex the Panjāb and Sind to his empire, but his premature death made the task impossible—no other hand could wield the sceptre of universal dominion. The empire fell to pieces and was carved into kingdoms by his generals, none of whom was strong enough to hold the distant Indian provinces. In three or four years all traces of Macedonian rule in the Indus valley had disappeared, and the local powers were left to their own devices. Indian writers do not mention Alexander's raid, for our knowledge of which we are indebted to Greek authors.

CHAPTER V

The Maurya empire: Chandragupta; accounts of India by Greek writers; Asoka and his successors.

Chandragupta Maurya. About the time of Alexander's death, or a little later, a revolution took place in Magadha, which cost the unpopular Nanda king his throne and life. A young man named Chandragupta, who is said to have met Alexander, and seems to have been related to the Nanda royal family, assembled a force of predatory clans from the north and seized the kingdom of Magadha, the capital of which was then Pātaliputra, the modern Patna. His agent in effecting the revolution was Chānakya, also called Kautilya or Vishnugupta, a wily Brahman, who became his minister. The accession of Chandragupta may be dated in 322 B. C., but at this period it is

impossible to fix dates with absolute precision. The family name Maurya is supposed to be derived from Murā, the mother of Chandragupta. The line of his successors down to about 184 B. C. is spoken of as the Maurya dynasty.

The first emperor of India. Before the time of Chandragupta India had been parcelled into a multitude of small states, some monarchies, some tribal republics, which were continually fighting among themselves, and owned no allegiance to any overlord. But the new king of Magadha, a stern and masterful man, was determined to bring his neighbours into subjection. In the course of a reign of twenty-four years he carried out this plan and made himself the sovereign of at least all Northern India. He is the first person who can be described as Emperor of India, but, of course, his rule did not extend to the far South.

Seleucus Nikātor. When Alexander's empire was finally partitioned in 321 B.C. among his generals, one of them, Seleucus, surnamed Nikātor, 'the Victorious,' obtained as his share Syria, Asia Minor, and the eastern provinces. After a prolonged struggle with rivals he was crowned king at Babylon in 312 B. C., and is known to historians as king of Syria. Seleucus thought that he would like to recover Alexander's conquests. About 305 B. C. he crossed the Indus with the intention of subduing the country. But Chandragupta was too strong for him, and Seleucus was obliged to retreat, surrendering all claim to the satrapies or provinces west of the Indus. Those provinces passed under the sway of Chandragupta, who thus ruled the country now called Afghanistan, as well as all Northern India. Seleucus was content to take five hundred elephants as compensation for three rich provinces, and concluded a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta, probably giving a daughter to the Indian king.

Megasthenes, and Greek accounts of India. Soon afterwards the Syrian monarch sent an envoy named Megasthenes to the court of Chandragupta at Pātaliputra. That officer lived there a long time and spent his leisure in compiling a careful

account of the geography, products, and institutions of India, which continued to be the principal authority on the subject for European readers until modern times. Although his book has been lost, copious extracts from it have been preserved by other writers, which give the pith of the work. Our knowledge of the system of government in the time of Chandragupta is derived mainly from the account given by Megasthenes. The statements of the foreign observer disclose a well-ordered State, governed by a stern, capable despot, who did not hesitate to shed blood, and consequently lived in daily fear of assassination. But, so far as appears, Chandragupta died in his bed. His empire certainly passed undiminished to his son and grandson.

The army of the Mauryas. The main instrument of authority was a powerful standing army of paid soldiers equipped from government arsenals, and, as usual in ancient India, comprising the four arms of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephant corps. The war elephants numbered 9,000, attended by 36,000 men, the cavalry were 30,000, and the infantry 600,000. The chariots kept by Mahāpadma Nanda numbered 8,000, and Chandragupta's force, of which the strength is not stated, probably was still greater. The four arms were administered by four Boards; transport, commissariat, and army service were the business of a fifth Board, and a sixth attended to admiralty affairs.

The capital and civil administration. The capital city, Pātaliputra, situated on the northern bank of the Sōn, which then joined the Ganges below the city, was strongly fortified, and administered by a Municipal Commission composed of six Boards or *panchayats*, consisting each of five members, and charged with various duties. The other great cities of the empire probably were governed on similar lines. The general civil administration also was effective. The mainstay of finance was then, as now, the land revenue, or Crown rent, generally amounting to one-fourth of the gross produce. Like the modern Government of India, the king levied water-rates,

and assessed land at rates varying with the mode of irrigation. The subject of irrigation was carefully attended to by a special department, as it is now by the Canals branch of the Public Works staff. Besides the land revenue and water-rates, many other taxes and cesses were levied, among the most profitable to the treasury being the tax on goods sold.

Revenue and criminal law. The revenue and criminal law was severe and sternly administered. Theft was punished by mutilation, which was also the penalty for wilful false statements made to revenue officers, and for sundry other offences. Evasion of the town duty on goods sold was punishable with death, which was freely inflicted. But this severity, if repugnant to modern feeling, had the good effect of maintaining order. A regular system of excise was in force, the drinking shops being under official supervision, as they now are.

Reign of Bindusāra. About 298 B.C. Chandragupta died, and was succeeded by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. No record of the events of his reign has survived, but the history of Asoka shows that Bindusāra certainly maintained and probably enlarged the empire inherited from his father.

Asoka—273 or 272 B.C. Asoka, or to give him his full name, Asoka-vardhana, was viceroy of Ujjain at the time of his father's death, if Buddhist tradition may be believed. The Buddhist monks pretend that Asoka in his youth was cruel and wicked, attaining the throne by the murder of ninety-eight out of ninety-nine brothers. But there does not seem to be any truth in these tales, for Asoka's inscriptions prove that long after his accession he had brothers and sisters living for whose welfare he took anxious care. His inscriptions, which are numerous, are the best authority for the events of his reign. The coronation of Asoka (about 269 B.C.) did not take place until four years after his accession. The delay may or may not have been due to some dispute about the succession.

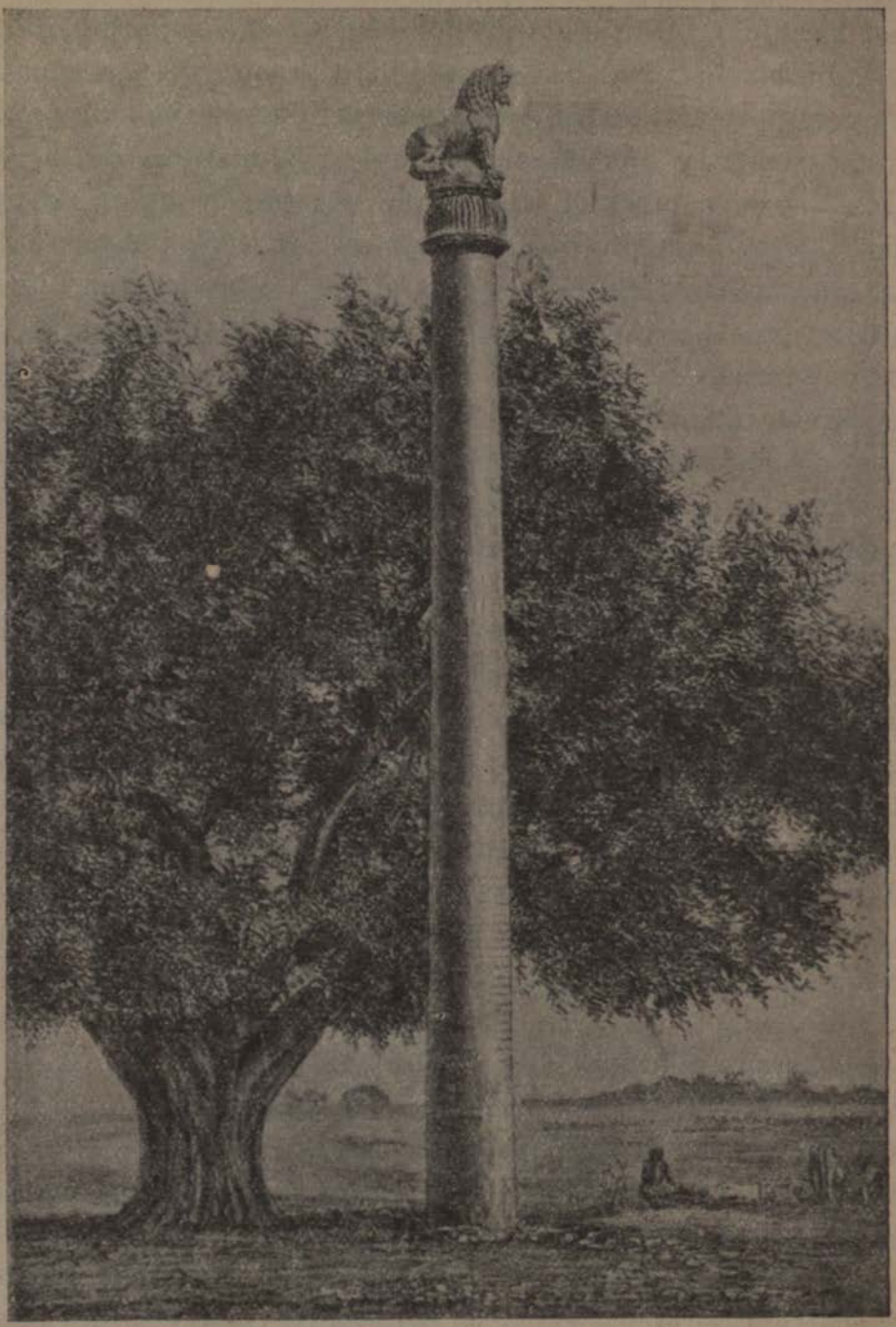
War with Kalinga. Some eight years after his coronation Asoka went to war with Kalinga, the country on the coast of

the Bay of Bengal between the Mahānadī and Godāvarī rivers. After hard fighting he overcame all resistance and conquered that kingdom. But he was horrified at the suffering caused by his ambition, and has recorded his 'remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death, and taking away captive of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret'. Asoka's first war was his last, and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to winning 'the chiefest conquest, the conquest by the Law of Piety (*dharma*)'.

Asoka's devotion to Buddhism. This sudden change in his feelings seems to have been due to his acceptance of the teachings of Buddhism, to which as the years went on he became more and more devoted, even to the extent of assuming the robes and vows of a monk.

Asoka is said to have convened at his capital a council of Buddhist monks to reform the church and revise the scriptures. As a means of diffusing a knowledge of the Buddhist *dharma*, or moral law, he engraved a series of edicts on rocks and stone pillars throughout his dominions, which have been deciphered by European scholars during the last seventy years. These records, which are found in Orissa, Mysore, the Panjāb, on the Bombay coast, and in other places, prove that Asoka ruled all India, except the extreme south below the fourteenth parallel of latitude.

Asoka's teaching. One of these inscriptions, on a rock in Mysore, may be quoted as giving a short summary of his moral teaching. It runs: 'Thus saith His Majesty:—"Father and mother must be obeyed; similarly, respect for living creatures must be enforced; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety (*dharma*), which must be practised. Similarly, the teacher must be revered by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relations. This is the ancient standard of piety—this leads to length of days, and according to this men must act."'



ASOKA PILLAR

Censors were appointed to enforce obedience to these rules with all the power of the government, and the moral regulations were supplemented by works of practical piety. Banyan trees for shade and mango trees for fruit were planted along the high-roads, wells were dug, rest-houses were built, watering-places were prepared for travellers, and abundant provision was made for the relief and cure of the poor and sick.

Asoka's missions. The emperor organized a system of missions to carry his teaching to all the protected states on the frontiers of the empire, including the Himalayan regions, to the independent Tamil kingdoms of the Far South, to Ceylon, and to the Greek monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrēnē (west of Egypt), Macedonia, and Epirus, thus embracing three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe. The statement of some authorities that missionaries were sent also to Burma does not seem to be correct. The leading missionary to Ceylon was Mahendra (Mahinda), the brother, or, according to others, a son, of Asoka. In this way, Buddhism, which had been merely the creed of a local Indian sect, became one of the chief religions of the world, a position which, in spite of many ups and downs, it still holds. This result is the work of Asoka alone, and entitles him to rank for all time in that small body of men who may be said to have changed the faiths of the world. The numerous and wealthy Buddhist monasteries founded in the time of Asoka and in later ages did much to spread Buddhism, and no doubt looked after the education of the young, as the monks now do in Burma.

The later Mauryas. In or about 232 B.C. the great Asoka passed away, the most notable figure in the early history of India. Inscriptions prove that he was succeeded in the eastern part of his dominions by his grandson Dasaratha, and, according to tradition, the western provinces passed under the rule of another grandson, Samprati, who favoured the Jain religion. The names of five later members of the dynasty are recorded, but nothing is known about their reigns. It is clear that these princes must have enjoyed only limited power, and that the

empire could not be held together after the removal of Asoka's controlling hand. The last of the Mauryas, Brihadratha, was slain, in or about 184 B. C., by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra Sunga.

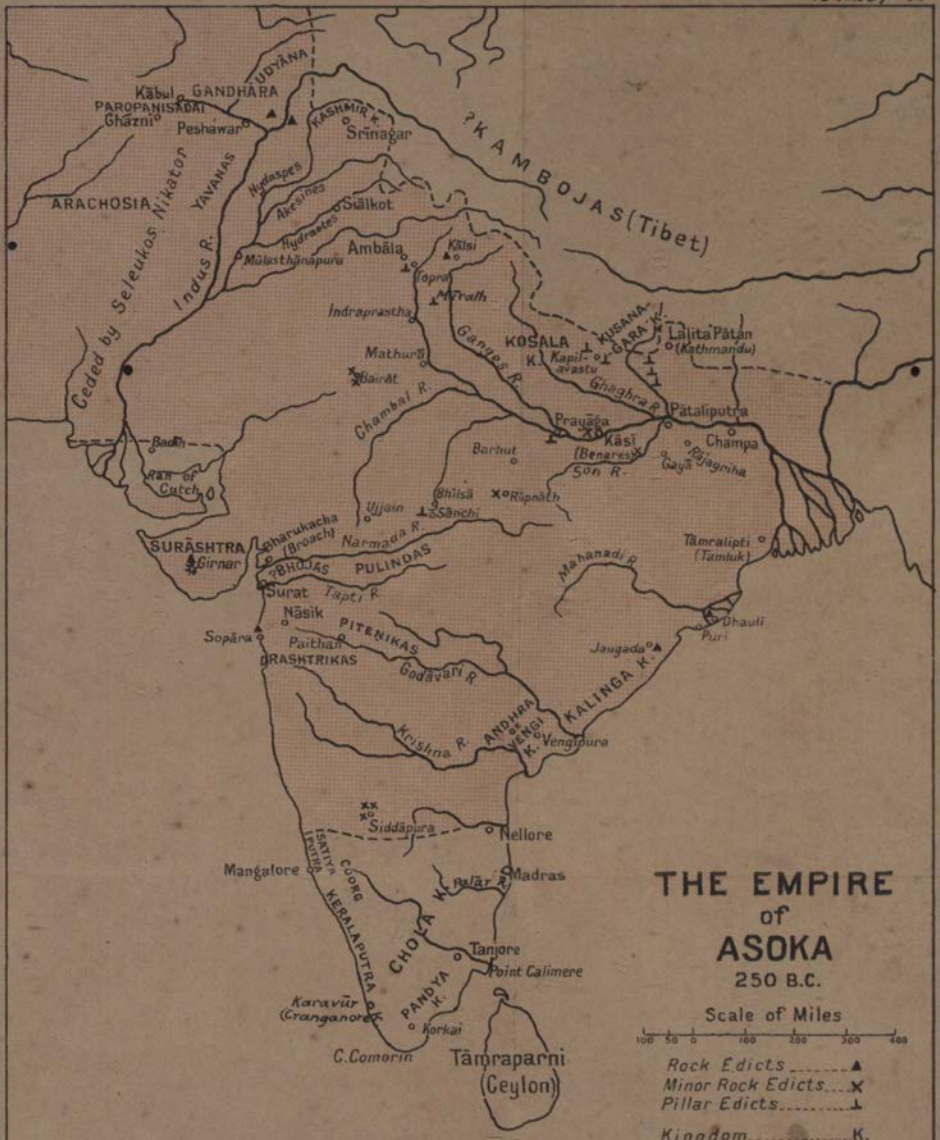
Sunga Kānva and Āndhra dynasties. Very little is on record about the Sunga dynasty founded by Pushyamitra, which is said to have lasted for a hundred and twelve years. The great grammarian, Patanjali, was a contemporary of Pushyamitra, in whose time the Greek king Menander invaded India.

The Sungas were succeeded by the Kānva dynasty, to which forty-five years are assigned by the lists in the Purānas. The last Sunga was killed by an Āndhra prince, about 27 B. C. But the Āndhra dynasty had been established some two centuries earlier, soon after the death of Asoka, and had acquired a wide dominion extending across the Deccan from sea to sea. There is no distinct evidence that the Āndhras held Magadha, and the history of the dynasty is extremely obscure.

The Kings of Magadha.

Approximate dates, not exact.

	B. C.	
Sisunāga	acc. 600	
Bimbisāra	acc. 528	(Prasenajit of Kosala contemp.)
Death of Mahāvīra	527	
Ajātasatru	acc. 500	
Death of Gautama Buddha	487	
The Nine Nandas	acc. 371	
Campaign of Alexander the Great	326-325	
Chandragupta Maurya	acc. 322	
Invasion of Seleucus Nikātor	305	
Embassy of Megasthenes	303	
Bindusāra	acc. 298	
Asoka	acc. 273	
Coronation	269	
War with Kalinga	261	
Death of Asoka	232	
Other Mauryan kings	232-184	
Sunga dynasty	184-72	
Invasion of Menander	155	
Kānva dynasty	72-27	



THE EMPIRE of ASOKA

250 B.C.

Scale of Miles

100 50 0 100 200 300 400

Rock Edicts ▲

Minor Rock Edicts X

Pillar Edicts ⊥

Kingdom K.

B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1908.

CHAPTER VI

The foreign dynasties of the north-west: the Kushān (Kusana) empire; Kanishka; the Saka era; art and literature.

Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Parthian kings. Parthia, the country south-east of the Caspian Sea, and Bactria, the country between the Hindu Kush mountains and the river Oxus, which had been both included in the kingdom of Seleucus Nikātor, became independent monarchies under kings of Greek descent about the middle of the third century B. C., when Asoka was emperor of India. He probably held the provinces west of the Indus—the modern Afghanistan, which had been ceded to his grandfather by Seleucus. After Asoka's death no Indian sovereign could retain those distant dependencies, which were broken up into a multitude of principalities governed by Greek kings, whose names are known from coins. One of these kings, Menander, lord of Kābul, invaded India about 155 B. C., penetrated Oudh, and met the army of Pushyamitra Sunga. Besides the Greek rulers Parthian princes governed parts of the frontier regions after 140 B. C. About that date Mithradates I of Parthia had annexed the Western Panjāb, and united it for a time with the Parthian empire.

Saka and Kushān invasions. From about the middle of the second century B. C. the nomad and pastoral tribes of Central Asia for some reason or other were obliged to leave their home territories and move to the south and west in search of pasturage for their herds and subsistence for themselves. These wild people overwhelmed the Greek kingdom of Bactria and set up governments of their own. The earliest swarm was known to the Indians by the name of Sakas. They made their way into Sistān on the Hilmand river, west of Kandahār, which was consequently called Sakastān, or the Saka country. Saka rulers also established themselves in Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār, and probably at Taxila and Mathurā. Another horde of nomads, called Yueh-chi by the Chinese historians,

descended through Bactria and Kābul to India. The leading clan of this horde was named Kushān or Kusana. About the middle of the first century A.D. the Kushān chief, known to historians as Kadphises II, conquered the various Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian princes on the frontier and made himself master of a large part of north-western India, where his coins are found abundantly.

Kanishka. His successor seems to have been Kanishka. Scholars differ about the date of Kanishka, but the best opinions are that he came to the throne either in 78 A.D. or about forty or fifty years later. Recent discoveries establish that he was a member of the Kushān clan, the son of Vashishpa, and that he reigned at least forty years. In the latter part of his reign he showed great favour to Buddhism, and, like Asoka, assembled a council of Buddhist monks, which composed commentaries on the scriptures. His capital was Purushapura or Peshāwar, from which he ruled Kābul, Kashmīr, and Northern India, perhaps as far as the Narbadā. There is good reason to believe that he carried his arms across the difficult passes of the Pāmīrs and subjugated Khotan and Kāshgar. He was succeeded by Huvishka, probably his son, who also was a powerful prince. He built a monastery at Mathurā, and a town in Kashmīr. Huvishka was followed by Vāsudeva, in whose time apparently the Kushān empire broke up, but we do not know exactly what happened. No period in Indian history is more obscure than the third century A.D.

The Saka era. The Saka era dating from 78 A.D., called in later ages the era of Sālivāhana, certainly was introduced by foreigners, and perhaps the most probable theory is that it marks the accession of Kanishka. Indian authors use the term Saka in a vague way for all sorts of foreigners from the other side of the passes, and would have felt no difficulty in describing a Kushān king as a Saka. Certain reasons, however, support the opinion that Kanishka's accession took place about 120 or 125 A.D., and some scholars are inclined to believe

that the Saka Satraps of Surāshtra originated the Saka era. Further discoveries are likely to settle the dispute before long.

Buddhist architecture and art. Both Kanishka and Huvishka were great builders, and spent much money on Buddhist monasteries and *stūpas* at Mathurā, Peshāwar, and other places, of which some traces still exist.[1] Ever since the time of Asoka, India had been filled with magnificent Buddhist buildings. The monasteries were often huge structures built of timber on brick foundations, several stories high and splendidly decorated. The *stūpas* were domed cupolas, generally constructed of brick, designed either to enshrine relics or to mark some holy spot. The larger ones were often surrounded by richly carved stone railings with highly ornamented gateways, and no expense was spared in the adornment of the buildings in every possible way. The best preserved example is the great *stūpa* at Sānchi in Bhopāl. The finest carved railing was that which surrounded the *stūpa* of Amarāvatī on the Kistna river in the Guntūr District, Madras. In and about the Peshāwar District the remains of numerous *stūpas* and monasteries of Kushān age exist, and multitudes of well-executed sculptures resembling in style the Graeco-Roman work of the first three centuries A. D. have been found. The Buddhists also were fond of hewing chapter-houses, or churches, out of the solid rock. The best examples of these are at Kārlē and other places in the Bombay Presidency. The practice lasted for many centuries, and some of the cave-temples were excavated for Jain and Hindu worship. The Jains also built *stūpas* exactly like those of the Buddhists.

Two famous Buddhist teachers, Nāgārjuna and Asvaghosha, and a medical author, Charaka, are reputed to have lived in Kanishka's time.

[1] The remains of Kanishka's huge *stūpa* at Peshāwar have been excavated recently, and a remarkable relic casket has been found bearing the image of the king and an inscription.

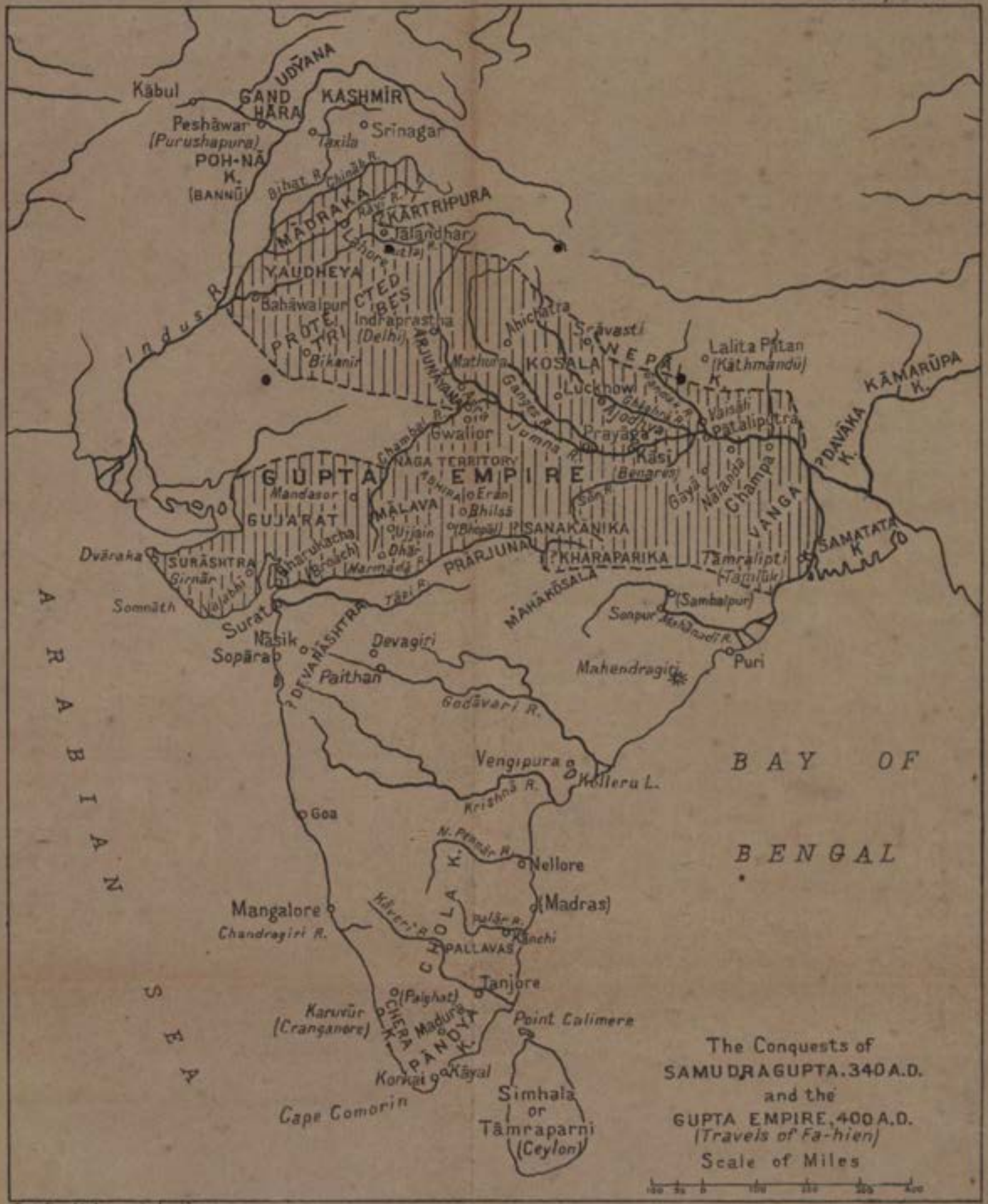
CHAPTER VII

The Gupta empire: the Hūnas or White Huns; reign of Harsha; state of civilization; Chinese pilgrims; Kālidāsa.

The Gupta dynasty; Samudragupta. The next prominent dynasty of which records have been preserved is that of the Guptas. A Rājā of Pātaliputra, who took the name of Chandragupta (I), enhanced his power at the beginning of the fourth century by marrying a princess of the influential Licchhavi clan of Vaisāli in Tirhūt, and formed a considerable kingdom extending along the Ganges to Prayāg or Allahabad. In 319–20 he established the Gupta era to commemorate his coronation. His successor, Samudragupta, a prince of many accomplishments, subdued the Gangetic provinces as far as the Sutlaj, and executed a wonderful raid into Southern India, penetrating to the neighbourhood of Madras, and bringing back much gold. The capital up to his time continued to be Pātaliputra.

Chandragupta Vikramāditya; the Huns. The next king, Chandragupta II, surnamed Vikramāditya, who annexed Mālwā and Ujjain to his empire, probably is the original of Rājā Bikram, famous in legend. He dispossessed the Saka rulers of Surāshtra, who used the Persian title of Satrap, and are called the Western Satraps by modern writers. Chandragupta II probably made Ajodhyā his capital.[1] His successor, Kumāragupta I (413–55), was troubled towards the end of his reign by irruptions of a fresh horde of Central Asian nomads, the White Huns or Ephthalites, who overcame the next king, Skandagupta, and broke up the Gupta empire, about 480 A.D. For a short time Northern India became a province of a huge White Hun empire, which embraced forty countries, extending from Persia on the west to Khotan in Chinese Turkestan on the

[1] The phrase 'Guptas of Kanauj' is an ancient error; Kanauj never was the Gupta capital. The designation of the Western Satraps as 'the Shah kings' is another 'vulgar error', based on an old misreading of coin legends.



B.V. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908.

east. In India the tyranny of the Hun chief, Mihiragula, becoming unbearable, he was defeated by Narasimha Balāditya, a Gupta king, and Yasodharman, Rājā of Mālwā, in or about 528 A.D., and forced to retire into Kashmīr. The nomad immigrants, known collectively to Indians as Huns, but comprising various tribes, settled in large numbers in the Panjāb and Rājputāna, and caused great changes. But history is silent as to the details of events in the sixth century. It was certainly a time of confused warfare.

The Vikrama era. The popular belief which associates the Vikrama era of 58–57 B.C. with a Rājā Vikramāditya or Bikram of Ujjain at that date is erroneous. There was no such person then. But the era really arose in Mālwā and probably was invented by the astronomers of Ujjain. The first name of it was the Mālwā era. The term *vikrama-kāla*, used by poets to express the autumn season when kings went to war, may, perhaps, have been transferred from the season to the year, which began with autumn in some parts of India. People then seem to have fancied that Vikrama must be a king, who founded the era, and probably a vague recollection survived of King Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, the conqueror of Ujjain.

Reign of Harsha of Kanauj. At the beginning of the seventh century a strong man arose, Harsha, Rājā of Thānesar, who, in the short space of six years (606–12) made himself master of Northern India as far as the Sutlaj, fixing his capital at Kanauj, and became the paramount power even over Surāshtra and Gujārāt in the west, and Assam and Bengal in the east. The equally vigorous ruler of the Deccan, Pulakesin II Chalukya (608–42), prevented him from extending his dominion south of the Narbadā. Harsha died in 648, and his death was followed by another dark period of anarchy and confusion.

Chinese pilgrims; Fa-hien. Our knowledge of events in the Gupta period and age of Harsha is largely derived from the narratives of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, who crowded into India as the Holy Land of their faith, and eagerly sought for Buddhist books, relics, and images. The earliest of these

pilgrims was Fa-hien (399–413), who came overland through Khotan and returned to China by sea. He remained for six years in the dominions of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya studying Buddhist literature, and was much pleased with the country. Pātaliputra was still a flourishing city, with numerous charitable institutions, including a free hospital. In Mālwā the penal code was mild, and the people were not worried by official regulations. Order was well preserved, and the pilgrim was free to pursue his studies in peace. Although the Gupta king was himself an orthodox Vaishnava Hindu, Buddhism flourished and was fully tolerated.

Hiuen Tsang, or Yuan Chwang. Hiuen Tsang, or Yuan Chwang, the prince of pilgrims (629–45), came to India overland by the northern road through Samarkand, and returned by the Pāmīrs and Khotan—a terribly arduous journey both ways. He visited almost every part of India, and recorded his experiences in a book of inestimable value. He became a personal friend of King Harsha, who, in his latter days, took a fancy to Buddhism. The king was a vigorous despot, keeping his dominions in order by personal supervision exercised during constant touring, interrupted only by the rains. The penal code was rather more severe than in the days of the Guptas, and the roads were not quite so safe, but the country seems to have been fairly well governed.

Buddhism was still strong, although orthodox Hinduism was gaining way. The king favoured all the Indian religions, doing honour in turn to Siva, the Sun, and Buddha, with a personal preference for the last named. The pilgrim attended a strange assembly held at Kanauj, the capital, for the purpose of disputations on religious subjects, at which twenty tributary Rājās were present, including the rulers of Assam in the east, and Surāshtra on the west. Pātaliputra was in ruins, and the royal favour was lavished on Kanauj, which was full of splendid buildings. The Kanauj assembly moved on to Prayāg (Allahabad), where the sovereign ceremoniously distributed the wealth of his treasury to people of all denominations on the

ground where the great fair is now held annually. Harsha was in the habit of making such distributions every five years, and the celebration in which Hiuen Tsang assisted was the sixth of the reign.

Sanskrit literature; Kālidāsa; science. The Gupta period was marked by the active cultivation of literature written in Sanskrit of the 'classical' type, as distinguished from the Vedic language and from Prākrit. The greatest of Sanskrit poets and dramatists, Kālidāsa, the author of *Sakuntalā*, the *Meghadūta*, *Raghuvamsa*, and other works, universally recognized as the finest products of Indian genius, almost certainly lived in the fifth century, at the court of either Kumāragupta I or his son, Skandagupta. The popular belief that Kālidāsa was one of the 'nine gems' at the court of the imaginary Rājā Bikram in 57 B. C. is, of course, baseless.

In the reign of Harsha the most notable literary man was Bāna, the author of *Kādambari* and *Harsha-charita*. King Harsha himself claimed the authorship of the *Ratnāvalī* drama and other poetical works.

The Brahmanical revival of orthodox Hinduism, noticeable in the Gupta age, was carried further in Harsha's time, and still further in the eighth and ninth centuries by Kumārila-bhatta of Bihār and Sankarāchārya of Malabār.

In science, the work of the astronomers Āryabhata (born 476), who taught the doctrines current at Pātaliputra; Varāhamihira, of Ujjain (died 587); and Brahmagupta of Bhīlmāl in Rājputāna (wrote 628) deserves notice.

Gupta Dynasty.

	Dates (nearly exact). A. D.
Chandragupta I . . .	acc. 320 (Gupta era, 319-20)
Samudragupta	acc. 335
Temporary conquest of South	340-5
Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya	acc. 375
Conquest of Mālwā and Surāshtra . . .	395 (Fa-hien's travels, 399-413)

Kumāragupta I . . .	acc. 413	
First Hun invasion . .	450	(? Kālidāsa)
Skandagupta, Vikramāditya .	acc. 455	
Hun wars, to about . .	480	(Āryabhata born, 476)
Other Gupta kings, from about	480	
Defeat of Mihiragula the Hun	528	

Reign of Harshavardhana (Śīlāditya)

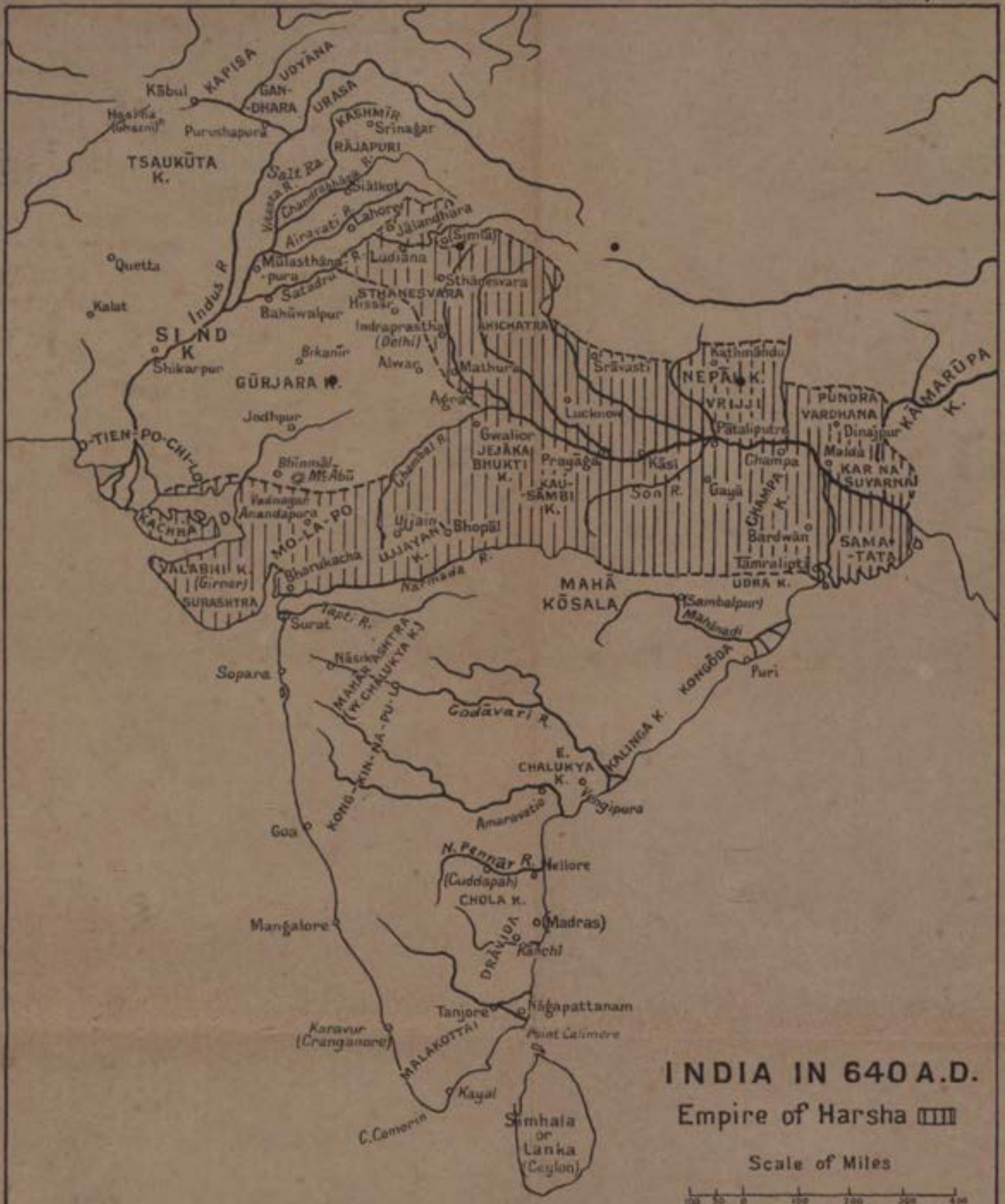
Accession.	606
Conflict with Pulakesin II . .	620 (Brahmagupta, astronomer, 628)
Assembly at Kanauj, almsgiving at Prayāg	644 (Hiuen Tsang, Chinese pilgrim)
Death	648
Usurpation by Harsha's minister .	648–50

CHAPTER VIII

The Muhammadan conquest of Sind: the rise of the Rājpūts; some Rājpūt kingdoms.

New grouping of powers after Harsha's death; the Rājpūt period. It is impossible to narrate in detail the histories of the many powers which emerged in India when the anarchy and disturbance consequent upon Harsha's death in 648 A. D. began to settle down. In some cases the story of a single dynasty would be enough to fill a volume. Most of the new states took shape during the eighth and ninth centuries under chiefs belonging to various Rājpūt or Kshatriya clans. The whole period between the death of Harsha and the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan at the close of the twelfth century, comprising about five and a half centuries, may be called the Rājpūt period, and we must consider who the Rājpūts were, and how they come so much into view at this particular time. But in this chapter we shall confine our attention to the affairs of Northern India before the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

Muhammadan conquest of Sind. The new powers, as has been said, almost without exception were Rājpūt. The principal exception was Sind. An ancient Sūdra dynasty,



INDIA IN 640 A.D.

Empire of Harsha

Scale of Miles

B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1908.

with its capital at Aror (Alor), had ruled the country from the Salt Range to the sea. In the seventh century the sceptre passed into the hands of Chach, a Brahman. But meantime the Arabs, full of the enthusiasm of the Muhammadan religion, then just started on its victorious career, had occupied Balūchistān (Mekrān). In 712 A. D., under the command of a general named Muhammad, son of Kāsim,[1] they invaded Sind, slew the reigning king, Dāhir, son of Chach, and established a Muslim state which endured for centuries. The boundary between it and India proper was the 'Lost River', the Hakrā (*ante*, p. 16). The Muhammadan occupation of Sind did not much affect interior India, and the serious Muslim attack on the countries east of the Indus did not occur until nearly three centuries later.

The rise of the Rājpūts. Most of the existing Rājpūt clans trace back their pedigrees to the eighth or ninth century, but no farther, and the reason seems to be that their ruling families became prominent about that time. Multitudes of foreign settlers, Hūnas, Gurjaras, and others, who had taken up their abode in the Panjāb and Rājputāna during the fifth and sixth centuries (*ante*, p. 22), became Hinduized in the course of two or three generations, and were then recognized as Hindu castes. War and government being the business of a Kshatriya, the chiefs and their kinsmen, when they adopted the Hindu *dharma*, or rule of life, were considered Kshatriyas, while the humbler folk took rank in castes of less degree.

Foreign origin of some clans. For instance, it can be proved that the Parihār Rājpūts of the present day are descended from the Gurjaras, who came into India as foreigners, and it is, of course, obvious that Gūjars are the same as Gurjaras. But the Parihārs count as Kshatriyas or Rājpūts because they were a ruling clan in ancient days, while the Gūjars, who represent the rank and file of the old Gurjaras, now form a large middle-class caste, much inferior in social standing to Rājpūts. There is reason to believe that many

[1] Not 'Muhammad Kāsim'.

other famous Rājpūt clans originated in the same way from the ruling septs of foreign tribes.

Aboriginal origin of other clans. Another group of Rājpūt clans has been formed by the promotion of the so-called aborigines. For instance, the famous Bais clan of Oudh is closely connected with and seems to be descended from the Bhars, and the Chandēls of Bundelkhand are similarly associated with the Gonds. While the Rājās and the kinsmen of Rājās of aboriginal blood are universally acknowledged to be Kshatriyas, the other members of the old tribes now form all sorts of lower-grade Hindu castes. Very often the clans of aboriginal origin had a standing feud with neighbours of foreign, or Scythian, origin, but, of course, this arrangement did not always hold good. Rājpūt clans of all sorts combined occasionally to resist the Muhammadans.

Kingdom of Kanauj or Panchāla. In 880 A. D. the most powerful state in Northern India was that of Panchāla or Kanauj, then ruled by Rājā Bhoja Parihār, whose Gurjara ancestors had been masters of a large kingdom in Rājputāna. At the beginning of the ninth century one of those princes occupied Kanauj and made it the capital of his dynasty. For fifty or sixty years after the middle of the ninth century the kings of Kanauj governed a dominion rivalling that of Harsha in extent. It included Kāthiāwār or Surāshtra, and extended from the boundary of Magadha (South Bihār) to the Sutlaj.

Pāla dynasty of Bengal. At the same time the so-called Pāla kings were lords of Bengal and Bihār and enjoyed great power. They were often at war with Kanauj, and early in the ninth century Dharmapāla was strong enough to depose a king of Kanauj and replace him by another. At that moment the Pāla sovereign was the most powerful monarch in Northern India.

Chandēl dynasty of Jejākabhukti. Another important kingdom was that of the Chandēls of Jejākabhukti, now Bundelkhand. The capital was Mahoba, and the strong fortress of Kālanjar gave much importance to the Rājā. This kingdom,

separated from that of Kanauj by the Jumna, was at the height of its grandeur in 1000 A. D.

Rājā Bhoja of Dhārā. Many more Rājpūt kingdoms, Gwalior, Chedi, and others, played a part in the history of the times, but are too numerous for mention. The learned Rājā Bhoja, of Dhārā in Mālwā, who was a Pawār Rājpūt, and reigned from about 1018 to 1060 A. D., must not be confounded with Rājā Bhoja Parihār of Kanauj mentioned above. Rāja Bhoja of Dhārā was a liberal patron of Sanskrit learning, and his name has become proverbial as that of the model king according to the Hindu standard.

CHAPTER IX

The kirgdoms of the Deccan and the Far South.

The Deccan and the Far South. Before proceeding to narrate the story of the Muhammadan conquest of the Pānjāb we shall turn aside for a moment to bestow a passing glance on the kingdoms of the Deccan and the Far South, which, for the reasons explained in Chapter I (*ante*, p. 15), were rarely in touch with the North.

The Āndhras, and the Chalukyas of Vātāpi. The Āndhra dynasty (*ante*, p. 48) held the Deccan until about 236 A. D. The next dynasty of which we know anything is that of the Chalukya Rājpūts, which established itself at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) in the Bijāpur District. The most notable prince of this line was Pulakesin II (608–42), who has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 53) as having successfully opposed the attempt made by Harsha to intrude on the South. In 642 Pulakesin, whose court had been visited by Hiuen Tsang, whom his military power deeply impressed, was deprived of his kingdom by the Pallava king of Kānchī (Conjeeveram). Thirteen years later the Chalukya line was restored, and lasted for a century longer. The kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengī between the Godāvarī and Krishnā (Kistna) rivers, an offshoot of the Western Chalukya

monarchy, lasted for about four centuries from 615 A. D. In the end it became merged in the Chola kingdom of the south.

The Rāshtrakūtas. In the middle of the eighth century the sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Rāshtrakūtas, a Rājpūt dynasty of uncertain origin, whose capital, at first at Nāsik, was transferred to Mānyakheta, now Mālkhed, in the Nizam's dominions. The Rāshtrakūṭa kings acquired great power, and were regarded as the leading princes in India by Muhammadan writers of the tenth century. They often warred with the Gurjaras of Rājputāna and Kanauj, and that city was actually captured by the king of the Deccan in 916 A. D.

The Chalukyas of Kalyāni. In 973 the Rāshtrakūtas had to give way to the second Chalukya dynasty of Kalyāni, which lasted for more than two centuries, and was engaged in constant wars with the neighbouring powers.

The Hoysala and Yādava dynasties. When Muhammadan armies entered the Deccan, at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Mysore country was held by the Hoysala dynasty, and the western side of the Deccan was under the rule of the Yādava kings of Deogiri. The Hoysala capital, Dorasamudra, was captured by Malik Kāfūr and Khwāja Hājī in 1310, and finally destroyed by Muhammad bin Tughlak in 1327. Rāmachandra, the Yādava king, was forced to submit first to Alā-ud-dīn, and then to Malik Kāfūr, purchasing his life by payment of enormous treasures. His son Harapāla, who tried to shake off the foreign yoke, was defeated in 1318 by Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak, who barbarously caused him to be flayed alive.

The three kingdoms of the Far South. From very ancient times the Far South, or Tamil Land (*Tamilakam*), was shared between three Dravidian kingdoms, (1) the Pāndya, corresponding with the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, (2) the Chera or Kerala, in the Malabar region, and (3) the Chola, on the Madras or Coromandel coast. These kingdoms kept up a brisk trade with the Roman empire in the early centuries of the Christian era, and possessed an advanced civilization of

their own, with institutions quite different from those of the Aryan north.

Chola supremacy. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Chola kingdom, under Rājarāja and his successors, became the leading power in the south, and maintained a strong fleet, which ventured across the Bay of Bengal and annexed Pegu. When the Muhammadans came, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the power of all the old Dravidian kingdoms had become much weakened. Even Madura, the Pāndya capital, was held by Muhammadan governors from 1310 to 1358. During the fourteenth century the new Hindu state of Vijayanagar arose and dominated the Far South until its fall in 1565.

The Pallavas. Between the fourth and eighth centuries the ancient Dravidian states were disturbed and overshadowed by an intrusive dynasty from the north of uncertain origin, the Pallavas, who made Kānchī their capital, and attained the maximum of their power in the seventh century, when they destroyed Pulakesin II, Chalukya, as already stated.

CHAPTER X

The Muhammadan conquest of the Panjāb: Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

Muhammadan invasion; Amīr Sabuktigīn. Towards the close of the tenth century the politics of the Hindu Rājpūt states of Northern India, which had enjoyed long immunity from foreign attack, became complicated by the intrusion of Muhammadan invaders through the north-western passes. About 962 A.D., Alptigīn, a Turk, who had been a slave in the service of the Sāmāni king of Khurasan and Bukhāra, established himself in practical independence as master of a small principality with its capital at Ghaznī, between Kābul and Kandahār. When he died he was succeeded by his son Ishāk. After a few years, in 977 A.D., Sabuktigīn, who also had been a slave, became chief of Ghaznī, and, like his prede-

cessors, bore the style of Amīr. Subsequently he received the title of Nāsīr-ud-dīn from the Khalīfa.

Wars between Sabuktigīn and Jaipāl. In 986–7 A.D., Amīr Sabuktigīn began to make raids into the territory of Jaipāl, Rājā of the Panjāb, whose capital was at Bathindah. A year or two later the Indian king retaliated by invading the Ghaznī territory, but lost most of his army from the excessive cold, and was forced to purchase peace. Jaipāl, having broken the treaty, was promptly punished by a fresh invasion, in the course of which the Amīr reduced to subjection the Lamghān territory between Peshāwar and Kābul. Jaipāl then organized a great league of Hindu princes, including the Rājās of distant Kanauj and Kālanjar, and made a final effort to save his country by leading the allied army of 100,000 men into the dominions of the Amīr. A fierce battle, probably fought somewhere in the Kurram valley, ended in the total rout of the Hindus.

Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī. In 997 A.D. (387 A.H.), the crown of the Amīr Sabuktigīn descended, after a short interval of dispute, to his famous son Mahmūd, then twenty-six years of age, the first Musalman chief who enjoyed the title of Sultan. Mahmūd, urged by religious zeal and love of plunder, vowed to carry on what he considered to be a 'holy war' against the idolaters of India, and to lead an expedition into that land each year. To the best of his ability he kept his vow, and, in pursuance of it, is computed to have made fifteen or seventeen expeditions, of which the more important will now be noticed.

Defeat and Death of Jaipāl, 1001 A.D. During the course of his second expedition the sultan met Jaipāl on the plain near Peshāwar, on the 27th of November, 1001 A.D., and utterly defeated him, taking him and his family prisoners. After a while the Rājā was released, but on return to his own country, committed suicide by fire, and Ānandpāl, his son, reigned in his stead. The Peshāwar territory was annexed by the sultan.

Capture of Multān. Mahmūd's fourth expedition (396 A.H. = 1005–6 A.D.) was directed against Multān, but before he captured that city the invader attacked Ānandpāl, 'stretching out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush.'

Rout of Ānandpāl and his son. The sixth expedition (399 A.H. = 1008–9) was aimed specially against Ānandpāl, who, following his father's example, organized a league of the Hindu powers, including the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālanjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmēr, and assembled a greater army than had ever taken the field against the Amīr Sabuktigīn. The hostile forces watched each other in the plain of Peshāwar for forty days, the Hindus meantime receiving reinforcements from the powerful Khokhar tribe. The sultan was obliged to be cautious, and formed an entrenched camp. Thirty thousand Khokhars by a sudden rush stormed it, and in a few moments had slain three or four thousand Musalmans. Victory seemed to be in the grasp of the Hindus, but at the critical moment, the elephant carrying Ānandpāl turned and fled.[1] The Indians, thinking this accident to be a signal of defeat, gave way and broke. The Musalman cavalry pursued them for two days and nights, killing 8,000 and capturing thirty elephants and enormous booty.

Capture of Kangra. This decisive victory was followed up by the capitulation of the fort of Kangra, also known as Nagarkot or Bhīmnagar, where treasure of immense value was taken. 'Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards, and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again.'

Expedition against Kanauj and Mathurā. One of the most celebrated of Sultan Mahmūd's raids was that which is reckoned as the twelfth, and had for its object the conquest of

[1] Al Utbi says that the Hindu leader was Brahmanpāl, son of Anandpāl.

Kanauj, the imperial city of Northern India. The sultan started from Ghaznī in October, passed all the rivers of the Panjāb, and crossed the Jumna on December 2, 1018 A.D. He captured the forts which he met on the road, and was preparing to attack Baran, the modern Bulandshahr, when the local Rājā, Hardatt by name, tendered his submission, and with ten thousand men accepted the religion of Islam. The holy and wealthy city of Mathurā having been taken, 'the sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burned with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground.'

Conquest of Kanauj. In January, 1019 A.D., the ever victorious invader appeared before Kanauj. The Rājā, Rājyapāl Parihār, fled to the other side of the Ganges, and allowed his capital to be occupied without serious resistance. The seven forts, or lines of fortification, guarding it fell in one day, and were given over to plunder. Rājyapāl submitted, and the city, as a whole, seems to have been spared, although the temples were destroyed, many of the inhabitants slain, and much plunder was acquired. Mahmūd then advanced through the Fatehpur District and entered the hills of Bundelkhand before he returned to Ghaznī at the beginning of the hot season.

Death of Rājyapāl. The submission of Rājyapāl to the foreigner incensed the neighbouring Hindu princes, who under the leadership of Vidhyādhara, son of Ganda, the Chandēl Rājā of Kālanjar, and the chieftain of Gwalior, attacked Kanauj, and slew Rājyapāl. He was succeeded by Trilochanpāl.[1]

The vengeance of the Sultan. Mahmūd, who regarded the king of Kanauj as his vassal, was furious when he heard the news and determined to punish the audacious Hindus. Again leaving Ghaznī in the autumn of 1019, he forced the passage of the Jumna in spite of the opposition of Trilochanpāl, and advanced into the territory of Ganda Chandēl, who had assembled a huge army. Even Mahmūd's stout heart quaked,

[1] These kings of Kanauj had no connexion with the Pāla kings of Bengal, as a well-known textbook alleges them to have had.

and 'he regretted having come thither'. But during the night the courage of Ganda failed, and he shamefully stole away with a few followers, leaving his camp and 580 elephants a prey to the sultan, who, 'loaded with victory and success, returned to Ghaznī.' In 1021–2 Mahmūd once more entered the Chandēl dominions, and invested the famous fortress of Kālanjar, now in the Bānda District, which was held by the Rājā. Again Ganda feared to fight, and was content to buy peace. The sultan, laden as usual with 'immense riches and jewels, victoriously and triumphantly returned to Ghaznī'.

Expedition to Somnāth. The most adventurous of Mahmūd's expeditions was that against the shrine of Somnāth at Prabhāsa in the south of the Surāshtra peninsula. Starting from Ghaznī in the middle of December, 1023 A.D. (10th Shabān, 414 A.H.), and marching through difficult country by way of Multān, Ajmēr, and Anhilwāra in Gujarāt, he arrived at his destination in the beginning of March, 1024 A.D. (middle of Zī-l-ka'da).[1] Overcoming a fierce resistance, he stormed the Hindu fortress which stood on the sea-shore and was washed by the waves. A dreadful slaughter followed, the magnificent temple was laid low, and the sacred *lingam*, one of the twelve most holy ones in India, was smashed, parts of it being taken to Ghaznī, and cast down at the threshold of the great mosque to be trodden underfoot. The gates now lying in the Agra Fort, brought from Ghaznī in 1842 as being those of the temple of Somnāth and made the subject of a silly proclamation by Lord Ellenborough, are Musalman work and never came from a Hindu temple. The sultan's army suffered severely on its return march through the Sind desert, but enjoyed compensation in the vast treasure plundered from the shrine, which was estimated to exceed two millions of *dīnārs*.

Death of Sultan Mahmūd: his patronage of scholars. The last of Mahmūd's Indian expeditions took place in

[1] According to other authorities Mahmūd left Ghaznī in 1024, and sacked Somnāth in the beginning of 1025. The exact chronology of the early Muhammadan history of India is not easy to settle.

1026 A.D., when he attacked the Jats near Multān, and is said to have fought them on the rivers with a fleet of boats constructed for the purpose. During the rest of his life he was occupied with troubles at home. He died in April, 1030 A.D. (421 A.H.). Sultan Mahmūd is famous for the magnificence of his court and buildings and for his patronage of numerous Persian poets, especially Ansari and Firdausi, although it is true that the latter did not consider himself well treated by the sultan, who bears the reproach of avarice. Alberūnī, a mathematician and astronomer of profound learning, accompanied Mahmūd to India, and wrote in Arabic a valuable account of the country and its institutions, which he completed in the year of his patron's death.

Destruction of Ghaznī. The wars and dynastic troubles in the kingdom of Ghaznī which followed on the death of Mahmūd do not concern India and need not be related. It will suffice to say that the cruelties practised by Bahrām, one of his successors, on a chieftain of Ghor, an obscure principality in the mountains to the south-east of Herat, were terribly avenged by that chieftain's brother, Alā-ud-dīn Husain, who, in 1150 A.D. (544 A.H.), sacked Ghaznī for seven days and nights and destroyed all its splendid buildings, except the tombs of Sultan Mahmūd and two of his descendants.

The Province of Lahore. This disaster did not immediately deprive the dynasty of Ghaznī of the Indian province of Lahore, or the Panjāb, which had been annexed by Sultan Mahmūd. Khusrū Malik, the last prince of the house of Sabuktigīn, a weak and pleasure-loving man, retained possession of Lahore until 1186 or 1187 A.D. (582 or 583 A.H.), when he was expelled by Shihāb-ud-dīn, the Ghorī, otherwise called Sultan Muizz-ud-dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām. Khusrū Malik was immured in a fortress and put to death fifteen or sixteen years later. The student should remember that the province of Lahore was the sole permanent possession in India acquired by Mahmūd, who made no attempt to hold the regions in the interior which he overran in the course of his raids.

Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī. A. D.

Accession	997 or 998
Defeat of Jaipāl	1001
Defeat of Ānandpāl	1005-6
Defeat of Brahmanpāl (or Ānandpāl)	1008-9
Capture of Kanauj	Jan. 1019
Rout of Ganda Chandēl	1020
Somnāth expedition	1024 or 1025
Last Indian expedition	1026
Death	1030 (Alberūnī)

CHAPTER XI

Hindu civilization on the eve of the Muhammadan rule in Hindustan.

Survival of the Hindu kingdoms. The forays of Sultan Mahmūd, destructive though they were of life and property, did not shatter the Hindu kingdoms of the interior, which survived the passing storms, and were left free to conduct their affairs in their own fashion. The Panjāb alone had become a Muhammadan province. So far as appears, no considerable body of foreigners settled in India, excepting Sind and the Panjāb, for about six centuries, from 600 to 1200 A.D., in round numbers. The serious efforts of the Musalmans to establish a permanent Indian dominion did not begin until the closing years of the twelfth century.

Great Hindu powers of the twelfth century. At that time the great Hindu powers were no longer the same as they had been in the tenth century (*ante*, p. 58), and may be named as (1) the Gaharwārs of Kanauj, (2) the Tomáras of Delhi, (3) the Chauhāns of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr, (4) the Pālas and Senas of Bihār and Bengal, and (5) the Bāghelas of Gujarāt. Of course, there were plenty of other kingdoms, but those mentioned were the principal.

The Gaharwārs of Kanauj. The Parihār dynasty of Kanauj was ruined by Mahmūd, and soon faded into obscurity. Towards the end of the eleventh century, another Rājpūt clan,

of 'aboriginal' origin, the Gaharwārs, generally miscalled Rāthōrs, occupied Kanauj and founded a new dynasty, which attained considerable power under Govindachandra and his successors during the twelfth century. Rājā Jaichand (Jayachchandra), the last of them, famed in song and legend, who fell in the struggle with the Musalmans, was the grandson of Govindachandra.

The Tomaras of Delhi. Delhi, including under that name a series of cities built under different names by many kings, but excluding the legendary Indraprastha, is one of the most modern of Indian capitals, and, according to the best authority, was not founded till 993 A. D. Ānangapāla, a Tomara chief in the middle of the eleventh century, was the first prince to beautify the newly-founded city with handsome buildings. He erected a group of twenty-seven fine temples, from the materials of which the Kutb mosque was built a century and a half later, and set up beside them the famous and ancient iron pillar, which was removed from its original position, probably at Mathurā. Ānangapāla and his successors made Delhi the centre of a kingdom of moderate extent. The common belief that the Tomaras also held Kanauj is an error.

The Chauhāns of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr. After about a century of Tomara rule, Delhi was annexed by Vīsaladeva (Bīsal deo), the Chauhān Rājā of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr in Rājputāna, who thus became a powerful prince. His nephew was the famous Prithirāj, who distinguished himself by carrying off the daughter of Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj about 1175, by defeating Parmāl, the Chandēl Rājā of Mahoba in 1182, and finally by his gallant leadership of the Hindu host against the Muhammadans a few years later. Most historians state that the mother of Prithirāj was a daughter of Ānangapāla, Rājā of Delhi, but she seems really to have been a princess of the Chedi kingdom in the south.

The Pālas of Bengal and Bihār. The Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār, established under Gopāla in the first half of the eighth century, became very powerful under Dharmapāla

and Devapāla, the second and third kings, in the ninth century. We have seen how Dharmapāla was able to pull down one king of Kanauj and set up another in his place (*ante*, p. 58). The history of this dynasty is imperfectly known, but there is evidence that about the beginning of the twelfth century, Rāmapāla, the fourteenth king, conquered Mithilā, the modern Champāran and Darbhanga, and that his authority extended into Assam.

The Senas of Eastern Bengal. In the eleventh century the province of Eastern Bengal was formed into a separate kingdom by Vijayasena, whose successors are known as the Sena kings. For a time the Senas greatly reduced the Pāla power, but afterwards the Pālas apparently recovered some of the lost provinces. At the time of the Muhammadan conquest in 1193 A.D. the Pāla capital appears to have been either Mungīr (Monghyr) or the town of Bihār, while the Sena capital was at Nūdīah (Nuddea, Navadwīp). The Pāla kings were zealous Buddhists, and did much in the eleventh century to revive Buddhism in Tibet by sending missionaries to that country. The Senas were orthodox Hindus. Ballāla Sena is famous in the traditions of Bengal as the king who introduced the system of 'Kulinism' among the Brahmans. After the Muhammadan conquest Sena princes continued to rule Eastern Bengal from Bikrampur near Dacca.

The Bāghelas of Gujarāt. During the twelfth century the kingdom of Gujarāt attained to great power under the rule of the Chaulukya or Solankī kings, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, and it is even alleged that the authority of the latter extended as far east as the Ganges. Towards the end of the same century the throne passed from the Chaulukyas to a Bāghela dynasty. Rājā Vīradhavala of that dynasty was strong enough to repel an attack on his country led by Muhammad of Ghor, defeating the Musalmans with great slaughter.

General condition; architecture; literature. The states above described were independent one of another, frequently

at war, and not subject to any controlling power. They rarely could combine, and when a confederacy was formed in a desperate emergency, it was loosely held together and easily dissolved. Many of the Rājās' courts were splendidly appointed, and in the principal cities handsome buildings were numerous. The Pālas were the only considerable princes who continued to profess and support Buddhism; in all other provinces either Jainism or Hinduism prevailed, and the doctrine of Buddha was little regarded. The Buddhist buildings of the Pāla dynasty in Bihār have nearly all been destroyed, but many Hindu and Jain temples of the period survive elsewhere. The beauty of the Jain temples of Mount Abū, built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is unsurpassed, and the Hindu temples erected by the Chandēl kings at Khajurāho, a little before and after 1000 A.D., are among the best examples of Indian architecture. The venerated temple of Jagannāth at Puri in Orissa, built by order of Anantavarman Cholaganga in the closing years of the eleventh century, is inferior in merit as a work of art.

Literature was encouraged by many Rājās. For instance, Rājasekhara, the dramatist, graced the court of two Parihār kings of Kanauj; Bhoja Pawār of Dhārā, himself an author, was always surrounded by a crowd of scholars; and Vīsala deva, the Tomara ruler of Delhi, both produced and patronized poetry. Kalhana, who wrote the *Rājataranginī*, a Sanskrit metrical chronicle of Kashmīr, in 1149, was the son of a minister at the Srīnagar court. The *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva was composed shortly before the Muslim conquest of Bengal.

The foundations of vernacular literature were laid during this period by the bards, among whom may be mentioned Chand Bardāi, the reputed author of the *Chand Rāisā*.

BOOK III

THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST; THE SULTANATE OF DELHI (SO-CALLED 'PATHAN EMPIRE') FROM 1193 TO 1526 A.D.

CHAPTER XII

Muhammad of Ghor (Ghorī): conquest of Hindustan, Bengal, and Bihār: Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak; the so-called 'Pathan dynasties'; the Mongol (Mughal) invasions; end of the Slave kings.

Muhammad of Ghor (Muhammad Ghorī, Shihāb-ud-dīn). Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Husain, the destroyer of Ghaznī, died about four years after the sack of that city (*ante*, p. 66), and was succeeded in Ghor by his son, who was assassinated a year later. The local nobles then raised to the throne the murdered chief's cousin, elder son of Bahā-ud-din Sām, who assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyās-ud-dīn. His younger brother, Muhammad, was known in early life as Shihāb-ud-dīn ('the flame of religion'), but afterwards as Sultan Muizz-ud-dīn. His coins also describe him as Muhammad, son of Sām. The historians of India are accustomed to designate him, with various corruptions, either as Shihāb-ud-dīn or Muhammad Ghorī. We shall call him Muhammad of Ghor.

Occupation of Sind and the Panjāb. Muhammad of Ghor, having reduced Ghaznī to obedience of his brother, turned his attention to the rich plains of India. In 1175–6 A.D. he attacked Multān, and shortly afterwards obtained possession of Ūchh in Sind through the treachery of the Rānī. In 1178–9 Muhammad attempted to penetrate into Gujarāt, but was badly defeated by the Rājā of Anhilwāra. In 1186 or 1187, as already mentioned (*ante*, p. 66), he deposed

Khusrū Malik, the last prince of the house of Sabuktigīn, and so made himself master of the Panjāb, as well as of Sind.

First and second battles of Tarāīn. But the ambition of Muhammad was not satisfied by the possession of these frontier provinces. He desired to enjoy the plunder and acquire the sovereignty of the richer kingdoms of the interior. The Hindu Rājās combined against him, as they had done against the Amīr Sabuktigīn and the Sultan Mahmūd, and met the invader on the plain of Tarāīn or Talāwarī, fourteen miles from Thāneśar. The Hindus, under the supreme command of the brave Prithirāj Chauhān, Rājā of Ajmēr and Delhi (*ante*, p. 68), routed the sultan, who was wounded in the arm (1191 A. D.). Next year, 1192 A. D., the sultan returned, fought the Hindu confederacy on the same ground, charged the enemy with twelve thousand picked cavalry, utterly defeated them, and captured the commander-in-chief, Prithirāj, who was executed. Ajmēr was sacked and the inhabitants either killed or sold as slaves.

Reduction of Hindustan. The following year, 1193 A. D. (589 A. H.), Delhi, Kanauj, and Benares all fell before the resistless invader. Three years later Gwalior surrendered. In 1197 Anhilwāra, which had baffled the Muslim arms nearly twenty years before, was taken, and in 1203 A. D. the capitulation of Kālanjar, the strong fortress of the Chandēls, completed the reduction of Upper India. The Gaharwār Rājpūts of Kanauj migrated to Marwār in Rājputāna, where they became known as Rāthōrs and founded the Jodhpur State. Many similar movements of Rājpūt clans occurred about the same time in order to escape from the armies of Islam.

Death of the sultan. After these momentous events the sultan, who had succeeded his brother early in 1203 A. D., returned to Ghaznī, but in the cold season of 1205 A. D. was recalled to India by the revolt of the Khokhars, a powerful tribe in the Central Panjāb. Having 'set a river of blood of those people flowing', he started for Ghaznī, and was

murdered on the road by a fanatic of the Mulāhidah sect in March, 1206 A.D.:

The martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Muizz-ud-dīn,
From the beginning of the world the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third of the month Sha'bān in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to Ghaznī at the halting-place of Damyak.[1] (Dhamiāk in Jihlam (Jhelum) District.)

Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak as general and viceroy. The successes gained in India by the arms of Muhammad of Ghor were largely due to the ability of his general, Malik Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak, a native of Turkestan, who had been bought as a slave by the sultan, and was still legally a slave when he subdued Hindustan. He led the vanguard in the action of Chandwār near Itāwa, when Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj was killed by an arrow which struck him in the eye. He then pushed on to Benares and acquired a vast amount of booty. The sultan having returned to Ghaznī, Kutb-ud-dīn was left in charge of the operations in India. The capture of Kālanjar was his work, and on that occasion 50,000 captives were enslaved. He next occupied Mahoba, the Chandēl capital (*ante*, p. 58), and thence returned to Delhi through Budaon. He received the title of sultan from Sultan Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the successor of Muhammad of Ghor on the throne of Ghor and Ghaznī.

Kutb-ud-dīn Ibak as Sultan of Delhi. From this time (1206 A.D.) Kutb-ud-dīn may be regarded as an independent Indian sovereign, the first of the long line of the sultans of Delhi. He strengthened his position by judicious matrimonial alliances, himself marrying the daughter of Tāj-ud-dīn Yildūz (Eldoz), a rival chief, who, like Kutb-ud-dīn, had been a slave;

[1] *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*. This account by a contemporary should be accepted, not that which appears in Elphinstone and the textbooks. The Khokhars usually are miscalled 'Gakkars', who were a totally different tribe in the Salt Range.

giving his sister to Nāsir-ud-dīn Kubācha, another slave, who became the lord of Sind; and his daughter to Iyaltimish (Altamsh), governor of Bihār, and also a slave. He died in the year 607 A. H. (1210–11 A. D.) from the effects of a fall from his horse.

The Kutbī Mosque and Mīnār. During the period of his viceroyalty, between the years 1193 and 1198 A. D., Kutb-ud-dīn built the great mosque near Delhi, which was subsequently enlarged by his son-in-law, the Sultan Iyaltimish (Altamsh), who also built the celebrated tower known as the Kutb Mīnār. Both mosque and mīnār are called Kutbī, not because they were built by Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak, but because they are consecrated to the memory of the saint, Kutb-ud-dīn Ūshī, who lies buried close by.

Conquest of Bihār. Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak was well served by his lieutenant, Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad, son of Bakhtyār, a Khalj Turk, who is ordinarily called in the textbooks 'Muhammad Bakhtiyār', father and son being rolled into one. In the same year, 1193 A. D., as his master took Delhi, this dashing officer secured the control of Bihār by a raid of almost incredible audacity, seizing the fort of the town of Bihār with a party of only two hundred horsemen. The Buddhist monasteries, which still flourished under the patronage of the Pāla kings (*ante*, p. 68), were destroyed, and the monks killed or dispersed. The Muhammadan onslaught extinguished the vitality of Buddhism in its old home and last refuge. After this time the indications of the existence of that religion anywhere in India are very slight.

Conquest of Bengal. Bengal was brought under Muslim domination in the year following with even greater ease. The aged Sena king, Rājā Lakhmaniya or Lakshmana-sena, surprised in his capital of Nūdīah (Nuddea, Navadvīpa) by a party of only eighteen horsemen, fled by the back door and took refuge in the Dacca district, leaving Nūdīah to the fury of the conqueror, who sacked the town and made Lakhnautī or Gaur the seat of his government. Muhammad and his officers endowed mosques,

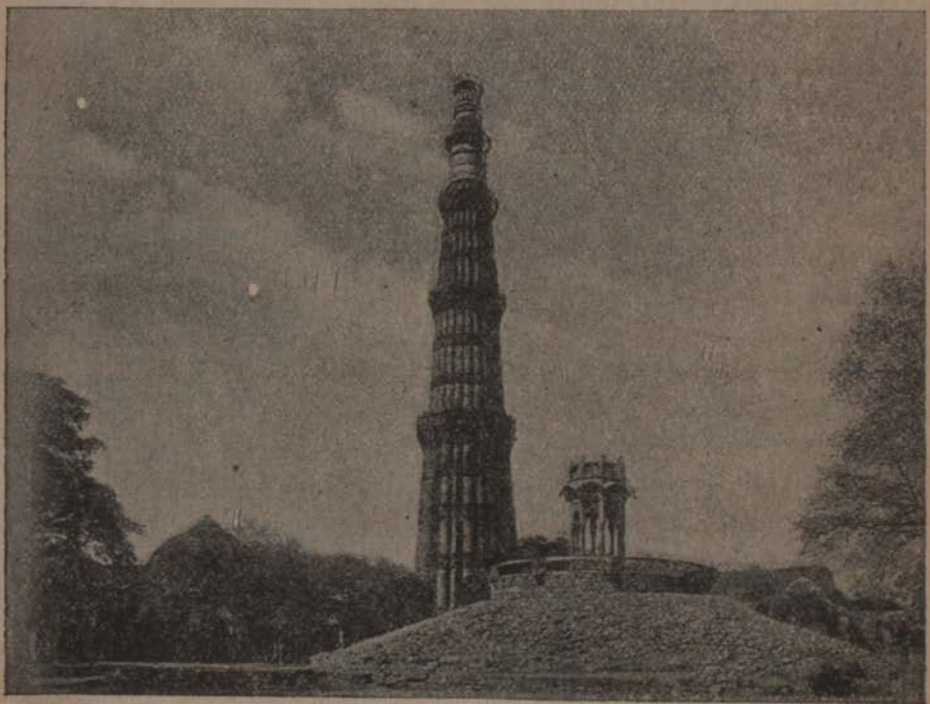
colleges, and Muhammadan monasteries in all parts of the kingdom, and sent much booty to their chief, Kutb-ud-dīn.

Death of Muhammad, son of Bakhtyār. Some years later, in 1204–5 A. D. (601 A. H.), Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyār, rashly undertook to invade the mountains. He managed to enter those beyond Darjeeling, but, being unable to secure any safe foothold, was compelled to retreat. During the retirement he lost almost all his force. Next year he was assassinated.

The so-called 'Pathan dynasties' and 'Pathan empire'. The sultans of Delhi, beginning with Kutb-ud-dīn in 1206, ending with Ibrāhīm Lodī in 1526, and including the Sūr claimants up to 1554, are often erroneously called the 'Pathān kings', and their rule is designated the 'Pathan empire'. But, as a matter of fact, only the sultans of the Lodī and Sūr families were Pathans (properly Paṭāns), that is to say, Afghans. Kutb-ud-dīn and the other so-called Slave Kings were natives of Turkestan, of Turkish blood. The sultans of the Khaljī (Khiljī) dynasty also were Turks. The Tughlak sultans seem to have been of mixed Turkish and Hindu blood, and the Sayyid princes claimed Arab descent from the prophet Muhammad.

Sultan Iyaltimish (Altamsh). Ārām, the adopted son of Kutb-ud-dīn, succeeded him, but proved incapable, and was soon replaced (1211 A. D.) by Shams-ud-dīn Iyaltimish (Altamsh, &c., of the textbooks), governor of Bihār. The new sultan had to fight and overcome his brother slaves Tāj-ud-dīn Yildūz (Iyaldūz) and Nāsir-ud-dīn Kubācha. He compelled the successors of Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyār, in Bengal to acknowledge his authority. After some more fighting in various directions Iyaltimish died in May, 1236, and was buried beside the mosque which he had enlarged and the mīnār which he had built at Delhi.

Sultan Razīyah (Razīyyat-ud-dīn). Rukn-ud-dīn, son of Iyaltimish, a worthless fellow, was deposed after seven months of misrule, his place being taken by his sister Razīyyat-ud-dīn,



KUTB MĪNĀR

commonly called Razīyah, a capable sovereign, whose chief fault seems to have been her sex. She tried to secure her throne by marrying a turbulent Turkī chief, but other nobles, who would not endure a woman's rule, defeated and slew her in October, 1240 A. D., after a disturbed reign of nearly three and a half years.

Sultan Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. She was followed by two insignificant princes, and in 1246 Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, one of her brothers, became sultan of Delhi. He was a quiet, studious man, ill-fitted for rule in such times, but managed to retain his throne for twenty years by the help of an able slave minister, Ulugh Khān, otherwise called Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, whose daughter was married to the sultan, and who fought hard throughout his master's reign to establish the Muslim supremacy in Hindustan. The *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, a valuable history by Minhāj-i-Sirāj, the chief Kāzī, was written in this reign and derives its name from the sultan.

Sultan Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban. 'Balban, being already in possession of all the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title.' He was nearly sixty years of age when he ascended the throne, but age had not quenched his vigour. He proved himself to be a strong ruler, severe and even cruel in his punishments, and utterly regardless of bloodshed. The Mewātīs near Delhi gave him much trouble, and were chastised with merciless ferocity. His principal military operation was the suppression of a revolt in Bengal. His court was adorned by many princely fugitives from various kingdoms of Asia then devastated by the Mongol hordes, and he was a liberal patron of Persian literature, and especially of Amīr Khusrū, the poet.

The Mongols (Mughals of the Syllabus).[1] A young Mongol

[1] Mongol (or, more strictly, Moŋgol) and Mughal (Mogul, &c.) really are only different forms of the same word, the nasalized *g* being represented in Arabic by *ghain*. But it is convenient and desirable for a historian of India to apply the term Mongol to the 'narrow-eyed' and heathen nomads who formed the bulk of the hordes led by Chinghiz Khan, and to restrict the term Mughal to the section of the Muhammadan Turks represented by Bābar and his successors. The Turks and Mongols

chief named Temujin, born in 1162, gradually acquired supreme power among the nomads of the steppes, and was elected as their sovereign with the title of Chinghiz Khan, by which (with various corruptions) he is generally known. Having made himself master of Mongolia, Northern China, and Turkestan he fell with his savage hordes upon the kingdom of Khwārizm (Khiva), sacked Bukhāra, Samarkand, Merv, and other cities, destroying the inhabitants by millions. The murderous conqueror and his generals then overran the country now called Afghanistan, sacked what remained of Ghaznī, stormed Herat, and even occupied Peshāwar. Jalāl-ud-dīn, the Shāh of Khwārizm, who had fled before the Khan, attempted to make a stand on the Indus, but was defeated, and fled to Delhi, where he was received by the sultan (1221, 1222). The Khan thought of returning to Mongolia through India and Assam, and even asked the permission of Sultan Iyaltimish to do so, but happily desisted from his purpose, and India was spared the unspeakable horrors which befell Central Asia, and from the effects of which those regions have never recovered. Raids by bodies of Mongol troops long continued, and gave much anxiety to the Sultan Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, whose son was killed in battle with them. On the west the Mongol hordes penetrated into Europe as far as the Volga in Russia.

Sultan Kaikobād; end of Slave Kings. When Balban died in 1287 he was succeeded on the throne of Delhi by his grandson Kaikobād (Muizz-ud-dīn), a good-for-nothing, debauched youth. Some Turkish chiefs of the Khalj or Khiljī tribe put him out of the way, and raised to the throne one of themselves, by name Jalāl-ud-dīn. Thus ended in 1290 A. D.[1] the dynasty of the Turkish slave sultans of Delhi, which had begun with Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak in 1206.

often associated and intermarried, and Bābar himself, a Turk on the father's side, was of Mongol descent on the mother's side. The Turks resemble Europeans (Aryans) in physique, and are not 'narrow-eyed'.

[1] Elphinstone's date, 1288 A.D. = 687 A.H., as given by Firishtah, is erroneous.

Muhammadan Conquest of Hindustan.

	A.D.
Sultan Muhammad of Ghor (Ghorī, Shihāb-ud-dīn, Muizz-ud-dīn)	
Occupied Ūchh in Sind	1175–6
Defeated by Rājā of Gujarāt	1178–9
Deposed Khusrū Malik of Lahore	1186 or 1187
First battle of Tarāīn	1191
Second battle of Tarāīn	1192
Reduction of Delhi, Kanauj, Benares, and Bihār	1193
Conquest of Bengal	1194
Capture of Anhilwārā	1197
Capture of Kālanjar	1203
Death of the sultan	1206

The Sultans of Delhi.

The Slave Kings.

Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak	acc. 1206 (mosque at Delhi)
Ārām Shah	acc. 1210
Iyaltimish (Altamsh)	acc. 1211 (Mongol invasion, 1221, 1222)
Rukn-ud-dīn and Razīyah	acc. 1236
Bahrām, &c.	acc. 1240
Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd	acc. 1246 (*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*)
Balban (Ghiyās-ud-dīn)	acc. 1266
Kaikobād (Muizz-ud-dīn)	acc. 1286 or 1287
	killed 1290

CHAPTER XIII

The Khiljī sultans of Delhi: Alā-ud-dīn; the Tughlak dynasty.

Jalāl-ud-dīn Khiljī. Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn was an old man seventy years of age when he was called to undertake the rule of Hindustan. A famine occurred in 1291 A. D., of such severity that the historian records that multitudes of Hindus, 'from excess of hunger and want,' drowned themselves in the Jumna. Jalāl-ud-dīn conducted an indecisive campaign in Mālwā, and, like his predecessors, had to defend his realm against incursions of the Mongols (Mughals of the Muhammadan writers). His forces repelled them from Lahore, and three thousand of the nomads, who surrendered, became Muhammadans and entered

the service of the sultan, who allotted them for residence a suburb of Delhi, thence called Mughalpur. Jalāl-ud-dīn, being far advanced in years, left most of the fighting to be done by his brother's son, Alā-ud-dīn, who was also his son-in-law.

Expedition of Alā-ud-dīn to the Deccan. The first attack by the armies of Islam on the countries to the south of the Narbadā was made in 1294 A.D. by Alā-ud-dīn, who marched seven hundred miles into Berār and Khandesh, and compelled Rājā Rāmachandra-deva, the Yādava ruler of Deogiri and the Western Deccan (*ante*, p. 60), to surrender Elichpur with its dependencies. Immense booty was brought to Delhi.

Murder of Jalāl-ud-dīn. Alā-ud-dīn was on bad terms with his wife, the daughter of the sultan, as well as with her mother, and this domestic feud may have influenced him in his treachery to his uncle, who trusted him blindly, and would listen to no warnings. However that may be, the old man was persuaded to place himself in the power of Alā-ud-dīn at Karā in the Allahabad district during the month of Ramazan, 695 A.H. (July, 1296), and was there foully murdered as he clasped his nephew's hand.

Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī. The army condoned the crime and accepted the murderer as sultan. The sons and various relatives and adherents of the old monarch were massacred, and the usurper's throne thus secured. During his reign the Mongols entered India no less than five times, but were always repulsed, the last time in 1303, when they threatened Delhi, so effectually that 'from that day the Mughals lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustan, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted'. Alā-ud-dīn found the Mongol converts to Islam troublesome, and had a general massacre of them carried out under secret orders on a fixed day in 1297 A.D. He captured the strong fortresses of Ranthambor and Chitor in Rājputāna.

Malik Kāfūr's conquest of the South. The most notable events of the reign are the campaigns conducted in the South

by Malik Kāfūr, a slave eunuch high in the sultan's favour. During the long interval no northern army seems to have entered the peninsular regions, except that led into Khāndesh and Berār by Alā-ud-dīn in 1294, during his uncle's reign. These southern campaigns lasted from 1302 to 1311 A. D., and in the course of his operations Malik Kāfūr overran the Yādava kingdom of Deogiri, the Hoysala kingdom of Mysore (Dorasamudra), and the Tamil states of the Far South. Musalman governors were established on the Ma'abar, or Coromandel coast. The southern currency was then exclusively in gold, of which metal enormous treasures were brought to the capital.

Buildings at Delhi. The sultan employed the wealth thus gained in extensive building operations at Delhi, where he formed a new city called Sīrī, enlarged the Kutbī mosque, and erected a noble gateway. He began a huge mīnār intended to outshine the creation of Iyaltimish, but the work was soon stopped.

Death and character of Alā-ud-dīn. Towards the close of his reign the sultan's health was impaired, and he became the prey of unjust suspicions of others, while placing implicit confidence in the eunuch Kāfūr, who is suspected of having hastened his end. He died in January, 1316 A. D. Alā-ud-dīn was a fierce despot of the Central Asian type—illiterate, arrogant, fanatical, cruel, and sanguinary. He was an able general, and, in times when sultans were not expected to be merciful, was reputed a capable sovereign. He liked to be considered a 'second Alexander', and used that title in his coin legends. His internal policy was characterized by many arbitrary and vexatious regulations.

Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak. Malik Kāfūr tried to retain power by placing on the throne an infant son of the deceased sultan, but the minister was promptly assassinated, and an adult son of Alā-ud-dīn's, by name Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak, was made sultan. At first he showed some energy, marching into the Deccan and defeating Harpāl, the Yādava Rājā of Deogiri, whom he cruelly flayed alive. On his return he gave himself up to

filthy sensuality, and allowed a low-born Hindu convert, Khusrū Khan, to mismanage state affairs. In 1320 this minister murdered his worthless master and seized the throne; but four months later he paid the penalty of his ill deeds, and was himself killed by Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūnā Khan, son of Ghāzī Khan (or Malik or Beg) Tughlak, governor of the Panjāb. Ghāzī Khan was invited by the nobles to assume the royal power, and, in 1320 (720 A.H.), became sultan under the style of Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

The Tughlak dynasty; Ghiyās-ud-dīn. The new sovereign is said to have been the son of a Turk slave of the Sultan Balban by a Hindu Jat mother. Certainly he was not a 'Pathan'. During his reign of four years he won a good reputation as an administrator, and reduced to a certain amount of obedience the Muhammadan princes who then ruled Bengal and Eastern Bengal in practical independence. In 1324 A.D. (724 A.H.) he was killed by the fall of a pavilion erected for his reception by his son Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūnā. There is good reason for believing that the 'accident' was caused intentionally.

Muhammad Ādil, son of Tughlak. No opposition was made to the assumption of power by Jūnā, who is generally known to history as Muhammad, son of (*bin*) Tughlak. He enjoyed a long reign of twenty-seven years, and during the earlier years of it controlled twenty-three provinces, a dominion far larger than that of any of his predecessors. But the empire never was at peace; no sooner was one section brought back to its allegiance than another would seek to assert its independence, and by the end of Muhammad's reign it was falling to pieces.

A vein of insanity ran through the sultan's character, which is rightly described by Badāonī as 'a mixture of opposites'. His natural great abilities were constantly perverted, and he could not resist indulgence in mad schemes, which ruined his people and shook his throne. In spite of all, he died in his bed; as the historian observes, 'at length disease overcame

him, and the sultan was freed from his people, and the people from their sultan.' This deliverance was accomplished in March, 1351 A.D., at Tatta (Thattah) in Sind, where the sultan was engaged, as usual, in the pursuit of rebels.

Transfer of capital to Daulatabad. One of the maddest of his schemes was the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Deogiri in the Deccan, which he renamed Daulatabad. The tyrant's order was carried out with such ruthless completeness that Delhi 'became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city'. Ibn Batuta, the contemporary traveller, found Delhi 'almost a desert', and tells a gruesome story that, the sultan's 'servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden man in another, the emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a balista, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatabad, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it; for the order had been that they should go to this place'. The unhappy people were afterwards forced to return to Delhi.

Other mad schemes; cruelty. The sultan aspired to the fame of a universal conqueror, and accordingly collected a vast army for the subjugation of Persia, which dispersed without effecting anything beyond pillage of his subjects. Again, he thought to subdue China and sent 100,000 men into the Himalayas, where 80,000, mostly cavalry, perished miserably. He tried to force people to take copper or brass money as silver, engraving upon it the legend, 'He who obeys the sultan, truly, he obeys God.' But, of course, the scheme failed in practice, 'till at last copper became copper, and silver, silver,' while heaps of the brass coins lay at Tughlakabad (a Delhi fort), 'and had no more value than stones.' His administration, which he believed to be the perfection of justice, was so cruel and sanguinary that 'there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his civil court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were

weary of dragging the wretched victims and putting them to death in crowds. So that the people were never tired of rebelling, nor the king of punishing'. He also committed frightful massacres on a large scale, and is said to have organized man-hunts, driving men and women like game to the slaughter.

Ruin of the empire. In the earlier days of his reign Muhammad had completed the reduction of the Deccan and brought it into order like the home provinces. But Bengal secured its independence about 1340, and before the end of the reign the Deccan, conquered with so much difficulty, had shaken off its allegiance.

Character of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Mr. E. Thomas has fairly summed up this 'mixture of opposites' by describing him as 'learned, merciless, religious, and mad'. He was eloquent, accomplished, skilled in Arabic, Persian, logic, mathematics, and Greek philosophy. He abstained from strong drink, the ruin of so many kings of Delhi, led a moral life, and was distinguished for his personal gallantry. But all these fine qualities were more than neutralized by his savage temper and insane ambitions, so that his reign stands out as one of the most calamitous in Indian history.

CHAPTER XIV

Decline of the Sultanate of Delhi: Fīrōz and the other successors of Muhammad bin Tughlak; Taimūr; the Lodī dynasty.

Fīrōz Shah Tughlak. Fīrōz, the first cousin and designated heir of Sultan Muhammad Ādil, was accepted as the successor of the deceased monarch by the nobles present at Thattah. As soon as possible he brought back the army to the capital. Three years later he built the new city of Fīrōzabad near Delhi. The sultan's principal interest lay in building and the carrying out of public works. Fīrōz Shah's name is now chiefly remembered for the system of canals which he constructed for the supply

of water from both the Jumna and the Sutlaj. Although most of these works have been obliterated by changes in the courses of the rivers and other causes, one of them still exists in a modified form and does good service as the Western Jumna canal.

Events of his reign. In 1356 Fīrōz Shah held the whole of Hindustan, except Bengal, which he twice attempted to subdue; and was, of course, obliged to assert his authority in Hindustan by expeditions in various directions. As he grew old he left affairs of state almost entirely in the hands of his ministers, a father and son, who both took the title of Khan-i-Jahān. As early as 1359 he had associated his own son, Fath Khan with himself in the royal power, and long after the death of that son he made another son, Muhammad Shah, his colleague in 1387, but in the next year removed him and nominated a grandson in his place. Fīrōz Shah does not seem to have been ever well fitted for his position by reason of strength of will, but he was a man of lofty character and merciful disposition, and has deservedly left a good reputation behind him. In September, 1388 A. D., he died at the age of 79.

Successors of Fīrōz Shah. The death of Fīrōz Shah was followed by a prolonged struggle for the succession between various sons and grandsons, the details of which have been related by the Muhammadan historians, but are not worthy of remembrance. A series of worthless or puppet sultans pass across the stage, without doing anything deserving of record. The kingdom dwindled almost to nothing, and at one time, for three years, from about 1394 to 1397, things came to such a pass that Sultan Mahmūd was known as king in Old Delhi, while his relative Nasrat Shah enjoyed the same rank and title in Fīrōzābād, a few miles distant. 'Day by day,' Badāonī says, 'battles were fought between these two kings, who were like the two kings in the game of chess.' 'And,' he adds, 'all over Hindustan there arose parties each with its own Malik' (lord).

Taimūr (Tīmūr). Towards the end of 1398 A. D. this squalid squabbling was stilled by the irruption of another terrible

chieftain from Central Asia, Taimūr the Lame, the Tamerlane of tradition, who entered India by way of Multan, and reached Fīrōzabad near Delhi, 'sweeping the greater part of the country with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage.' At his camp opposite Delhi he butchered 50,000, or, according to some authorities, 100,000, prisoners, not even sparing the Indian-born Musalmans, although himself a Muhammadan, and found little difficulty in occupying Delhi, which he sacked without mercy. Happily he did not stay long. When departing, he made over the charge of the city and its dependencies to Khizr Khan, a Saiyid noble, and then returned to Samarkand. At that time Mahmūd Tughlak, the last of his line, and always 'a very shadow of a king', was the nominal sultan of Delhi. He lived until February, 1413 A.D. After the departure of Taimūr 'such a famine and pestilence fell upon the capital that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi'.

Dynasty of the Saiyids. Khizr Khan, whom Taimūr had left in charge, died in 1421 A.D., after some seven years of constant fighting. He was succeeded on the precarious throne of his limited dominions in the neighbourhood of Delhi by three members of his family, the last of whom, Alā-ud-dīn or Ālam Shah, abdicated in 1451, and retired to Budaon, which he was permitted to rule in peace by virtue of a friendly agreement with Bahlōl Lodī, an Afghan noble, who had made himself the leading man in the state.

The Patān (Pathan), or Afghan, Lodī dynasty; Sultan Bahlōl. Bahlōl Lodī, who assumed the cares of sovereignty in 1451, really was an Afghan or Pathan, and is the first person entitled to be called a 'Pathan king of Delhi.' At that time the kingdom of Jaunpur had been independent for more than fifty years, and at the beginning of his reign Bahlōl had to accept the situation, the king of Jaunpur and he agreeing to retain their respective possessions. Sultan Bahlōl could not endure this rival monarch, and presently engaged in wars,

in which he uniformly won, while Sultan Husain 'met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him'. Ultimately Bahlōl annexed the Jaunpur kingdom, known as the Sharkī, or Eastern, and bestowed it on his son Bārbak Shah. In July, 1489 (894 A.H.), Bahlōl died in the Doāb. He is described as 'a man of simple habits, pious, brave, and generous'.

Sikandar Lodī. On hearing of the death of Bahlōl, one of his sons named Nizām Khan, hastened to Delhi, and was proclaimed sultan under the title of Sikandar without serious opposition. His elder brother, Bārbak Shah of Jaunpur, after a time came to terms, and tendered his allegiance. Sultan Husain, the ex-king of Jaunpur, also tried to recover his heritage, but was defeated as usual. Sultan Sikandar then annexed Bihār and Tirhūt, which had been held by the king of Jaunpur, and occupied much time in bringing the territories near Gwalior into subjection. He had an intense horror of idolatry, and made a point of destroying all the temples and images which he came across. Muhammadan writers give him a good character, and praise his administration as having been just and vigorous. After a prosperous reign of twenty-eight years, during which he had extended his dominions considerably, he passed away in November, 1517 A.D.

Earthquake; buildings at Agra. A notable event of his time was the earthquake in 1505 A.D., which shook the whole of Hindustan and Persia, so that 'men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived', and believed that no such earthquake had been known since the days of Adam. Sikandar was the first of the kings of Delhi to make Agra his occasional residence. The village of Sikandra, where Akbar's mausoleum stands, bears his name, and the building there known as the Bāradarī is a palace built by him in 1495.

Ibrāhīm Lodī. The nobles selected Ibrāhīm, the third son of Sikandar, to succeed his father as sultan of Delhi, bestowing the kingdom of Jaunpur on the second son, Sultan Jalāl. This arrangement naturally led to friction, and a war between

Ibrāhīm and his brother of Jaunpur ended in the destruction of Jalāl. Ibrāhīm could not get on well with his nobles, and was troubled continually with revolts, which he punished with arrogant severity. Ultimately Daulat Khan Lodī, a governor in the Panjāb, applied for help against his sovereign to Bābar, king of Kābul, who gladly seized the opportunity for invading India. On the field of Pānīpat, to the north of Delhi, and not very distant from the ancient battlefields of Kurukshetra and Tarāīn, on April 21, 1526, Ibrāhīm met Bābar, and suffered a crushing defeat, which cost him his throne and life.

Interruption of the narrative. The battle will be described in connexion with the reign of Bābar, but before we enter on the history of the Mughal dynasty, it will be well to pause and take note of the principal kingdoms which shaped themselves in various parts of India during the decay of the Sultanate of Delhi following on the death of Muhammad bin Tughlak. We shall also pass briefly in review the state of society, religion, literature, and art during the period of the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526 A.D.), commonly miscalled the 'Pathan Empire'.

The Sultans of Delhi.

The Khilji Dynasty

(Omitting some minor names).

Jalāl-ud-dīn (Fīrōz Shah)	acc.	1290
Famine		1291
Annexation of Elichpur		1294
Alā-ud-dīn (Muhammad Shah)	acc.	1296
Massacre of Mongol converts		1297
Southern campaigns of Malik Kāfūr		1302–11
Mongol raid		1303
Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak	acc.	1316
Destruction of Harpāl Yādava		1318
[Khusrū Khan (Nāsir-ud-dīn), usurper		1320]

Tughlak Dynasty.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn	acc.	1320
Muhammad Ādil (Fakhr-ud dīn Jūnā)	acc	1324 or 1325
Fīrōz Shah	acc.	1351
	died	1388

Struggle for the succession	1388-1451
(Including the Saiyid dynasty	1414-51)
Sack of Delhi by Taimūr	1398

The Lodī Dynasty.

Bahlōl	acc. 1451
Sikandar (Nizām Khan)	acc. 1489
Earthquake	1505
Ibrāhīm	1517
Battle (first) of Pānīpat	1526

CHAPTER XV

The Muhammadan kingdoms of Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarāt, Mālwā, and the Deccan: the Hindu kingdoms of Vijayanagar, Mewār, and Orissa; literature and architecture; the Urdu language; spread of Muhammadanism; Hindu religious sects.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Bengal. From the time of the successful raid by Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyār, in 1193 A. D. (*ante*, p. 74), Bengal was considered to be a province of the sultanate of Delhi, and its rulers were regarded officially as the deputies of the sultans. But the control of Delhi was little more than nominal, and the governors of Bengal, twenty-five in number, between 1193 and 1338 usually could do what they liked. The Muhammadan province of Bengal, or Lakhnauti, ordinarily consisted of the territory bounded by the Sundarbans on the south, by the Brahmaputra on the east, by Kūch Bihār and the Tarāi on the north, and by the Kosi river on the west. But at times Tirhūt and Bihār were added to the kingdom, which did not include either Orissa or Chutia Nagpur. The three ancient capitals, Gaur or Lakhnauti, Pandua or Fīrōzabad, and Tānda were all situated in the Mālda District.

Iliyās Shah and his successors. During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak (*ante*, p. 82) Iliyās Shah established himself as independent king, and was formally recognized as such by Sultan Fīrōz in 1355. He was reputed to be a vigorous and successful ruler. His son, Sikandar Shah (1358-89),

equally capable, is famous as the builder of the Ādīnah mosque at Pandua, apparently copied from the great mosque at Damascus, and regarded as the finest building in Bengal.

Husain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Husain Shah (1493–1518) is considered to have been the best and greatest of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal. He gave shelter and a residence to Sultan Husain of Jaunpur, when that prince was turned out of his kingdom by Bahlōl Lodī (*ante*, p. 87). The occupation by the Lodī Sultan of Bihār, which had been held by the kings of Jaunpur, brought the sultans of Bengal and Delhi into direct touch with one another. Nasrat Shah of Bengal (1518–32) annexed Tirhūt, and consequently was attacked by Bābar, but peace was made.

Sher Shah and his Afghan successors. After Bābar's death in 1530 a long struggle ensued between Sher Shah, the Afghan governor of Bihār, and Bābar's son Humāyun. In the course of this struggle Sher Shah made himself sultan of Bengal, and a little later (1520) became for a time also the king of Delhi. Sher Shah's dynasty soon came to an end, and another line of Afghan chiefs obtained the sultanate of Bengal. The last of this line, Dāūd Shah, was defeated and executed by Akbar's general in 1576, from which time Bengal became a province or Sūba of the Mughal empire. Subsequently Orissa was nominally included in the Sūba of Bengal, but was never thoroughly mastered by the Musalman governments.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Jaunpur. The history of the kingdom of Jaunpur is short, extending over less than a century. The present city was founded by Fīrōz Shah of the Tughlak dynasty in 1360 A.D., on the site of a Hindu town. In 1394 the powerful noble Khwāja Jahān was appointed by Mahmūd Tughlak to be Lord of the East (*Malik-us-sharḳ*), with his head quarters at Jaunpur. The troubles ensuing on the sack of Delhi by Taimūr in 1398 A.D. (*ante*, p. 86) enabled Khwāja Jahan's adopted son to sever the slight bond of allegiance which bound him to Delhi, and to set up as a king with the style of Mubārak Shah Sharkī.

Ibrāhīm and his successors. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ibrāhīm, the most famous of the Jaunpur kings, who reigned prosperously from 1400 to 1440. He is described by Abūl Fazl, from the Muhammadan point of view, as 'an active and good prince, equally beloved in life, as he was regretted by all his subjects'. Perhaps the Hindus may have thought otherwise, for Ibrāhīm is also described as 'a bigoted Musalman, and a steady if not a bloody persecutor'. His son Mahmūd was equally able, and conducted his wars with success. The last independent king of Jaunpur was the unlucky Sultan Husain, who was driven from his throne by Bahlōl Lodī in 1476, and took refuge in Bengal (*ante*, p. 87). Bahlōl appointed his own eldest son Bārbak to be viceroy of the Jaunpur kingdom in 1486. Bahlōl's successor, Sikandar Lodī, completed the reduction of the Jaunpur dominions, including Bihār.

Literature and art under the kings of Jaunpur. The members of the Sharkī dynasty all were patrons of Persian and Arabic literature, and Sultan Husain, although unfortunate in war, was distinguished as a musician and composer. The reputation of Jaunpur stood so high that the city was described as 'the Shirāz of India'. The great mosques of Jaunpur, the Atala, built by Ibrāhīm, the Lāl or Red, built by his son, and the Jāmi, built by Husain, are among the most notable monuments of the miscalled 'Pathan' architecture. These mosques have no minarets and are characterized by their massive and imposing gateways with walls sloping inwards.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Gujarāt. Gujarāt, the fine province corresponding to the northern parts of the Bombay Presidency, with Baroda and the southern portion of Rājputāna, was annexed by Sultan Muhammad of Ghor in 1196 and thenceforward continued to be more or less subject to the rulers of Delhi until the invasion of Taimūr in 1398. At that time the governor, like his colleague in Jaunpur, set up as an independent king under the title of Muzaffar Shah. His grandson, Ahmad Shah (1411–43), founded Ahmadabad, which

replaced Anhilwāra as the capital, and waged many wars with Mālwā and other neighbouring states.

Mahmūd Shah and Bahādur Shah. The most renowned of the kings of Gujarāt was Mahmūd Shah, who came to the throne as a boy of thirteen, and reigned for fifty-two years (1459–1511). He carried on a long war with the Rānā of Mewār, and was victorious in many conflicts with his neighbours. He was less successful in his resistance to the Portuguese, who were now becoming a power in Western India, and lost his fleet in a battle fought with them off Diu in 1509. Bahādur Shah annexed the kingdom of Mālwā in 1531 and three years later besieged and took the famous fortress of Chitor from the Rānā of Mewār.

The last sultan of Gujarāt was crushed in 1572 by Akbar, who annexed the kingdom to his empire, completing the conquest in 1592–3.

Architecture in Gujarāt. Many very beautiful Hindu and Jain temples, erected in the time of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla (*ante*, p. 69), served to a large extent as materials and models for the equally beautiful architecture of the Muhammadan kings. Ahmadabad was made the handsomest city in India, and still deserved that epithet at the end of the sixteenth century, its buildings being unsurpassed for elegance, grace, and profuse decoration. Architecture is still a living art in Gujarāt, which is almost the only province where modern architects retain the early traditions of their craft and to a considerable extent the skill of the ancients.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Mālwā. Mālwā, which had been conquered by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, and then administered by governors for about a century, became independent shortly after Taimūr's invasion. The most famous of its kings was Hoshang Shah (1405–35), who made Māndū the capital. The buildings of that city rivalled those of Ahmadabad. For a short time (1531) Mālwā was absorbed by Gujarāt, and in 1564 it was annexed to the empire of Delhi by Akbar.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Khāndesh. The small

kingdom of Khāndesh in the valley of the Tāptī became independent, like so many other provinces, in the closing years of the fourteenth century, and continued to exist under the government of a family of Arab descent until 1610 A.D., when Akbar's son, Prince Dāniyāl, took the fortress of Asīrgarh, which commanded the road to the Deccan. The prince was made governor of the conquered province, to which in compliment to him the emperor gave the name of Dāndesh.

The Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan; the Bahmanī kingdom. The numerous independent states formed in the Deccan can be noticed only very briefly. An Afghan officer named Hasan, and surnamed Gangū Bahmanī, established during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak (1347) an extensive kingdom with its capital first at Gulbarga, in the south-west of the territory now constituting the Nizam's dominions, and afterwards at Bīdar, sixty miles distant. The dynasty became known as the Bahmanī from the surname of its founder. For more than a century (1374–1482) the Bahmanī kingdom stretched right across India from sea to sea, including a large part of what is now the Bombay Presidency, as well as the Nizam's dominions, and the 'Northern Circars' of the Madras Presidency. The kings were mostly engaged in war with the powerful Hindu state of Vijayanagar on the south, which then dominated the whole of the Tamil territory. After 1482 the kingdom was split up, and the later Bahmanī kings had merely nominal rank. Another Turkish officer set up a principality close to the capital, which is known to history as the kingdom of Bīdar, and lasted for more than a century. The rulers of this principality are called the Barīd Shahis.

Other Muhammadan kingdoms: Bijāpur. The Bahmanī dynasty, which saw its best days in the early part of the fifteenth century, was no longer able to control the more distant territories in the time of its decline. In 1490 a Turkish governor of Bijāpur threw off his allegiance, and set up as an independent king. The dynasty so founded,

known as the Ādil Shahi from the title of its founder, lasted until 1686, when Aurangzeb put an end to it. The almost deserted city is said to measure thirty miles round, and impresses all visitors by its desolate grandeur. The great mosques and tombs of the Ādil Shahi kings, which differ much in style from those at Agra and Delhi, are pronounced by a good judge to be 'scarcely, if at all, inferior in originality of design and boldness of execution'.

Ahmadnagar. The Nizām Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was founded at about the same time as the Ādil Shahi by another rebellious governor, Ahmad Shahi, son of Nizām-ul-mulk. The details of its history are not of general interest, and it will be sufficient to note that a gallant lady, Chānd Bībī, had the good fortune to repulse Akbar in 1596. Four years later the capital fell temporarily into the hands of the emperor, who formally constituted a Sūba, or province of Ahmadnagar, but an Abyssinian minister named Malik Ambar recovered possession of the city, and the final annexation of the kingdom did not take place until 1637.

Golkonda. The kingdom of Golkonda, another fragment of the Bahmanī dominion, separated in 1512. The dynasty, known as the Kutb Shahi, lasted until 1687, when it was suppressed by Aurangzeb. Golkonda is close to Hyderabad, now the capital of the Nizām's dominions. The ancient fortress, which contains some magnificent tombs, is used by the Nizam as a state prison and treasure-house.

Berār or Elichpur. Yet another revolted governor set up a small kingdom in Berār, with its capital at Elichpur, which lasted for about ninety years, until 1574, when it was annexed by Ahmadnagar. The kings are spoken of as the Imād Shahi dynasty.

The five sultans of the Deccan; summary. Thus it appears that on the ruins of the Bahmanī kingdom arose five distinct Muhammadan sultanates, namely:—

(1) the Barīd Shahis of Bīdar;

(2) the Ādil Shahis of Bijāpur;

(3) the Nizām Shahis of Ahmadnagar;
(4) the Kutb Shahis of Golkonda; and
(5) the Imād Shahis of Berār or Elichpur.

The history of Southern India between 1400 and 1565 A.D. may be summed up as that of a conflict between the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar and the five sultans of the Deccan, which ended in the decisive victory of the Musalman powers, who in their turn were forced to bow before the might of the Mughal emperors of Delhi.

The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Shortly after the destruction by Muhammad bin Tughlak of the Hoysala power (*ante*, p. 60) a feudatory chief of that state, named Bukka, began to organize a new Hindu kingdom to the south of the Krishnā and Tungabhadra rivers. The work of Bukka was continued by Harihara, his brother (1339–76 A.D.). The recently founded kingdom developed so quickly that during the lifetime of the brothers the Muhammadans were driven from Madura, the old Pāndya capital, and the territory of the ancient Chola kingdom also was absorbed in the dominions of the new state. Bukka's minister was the learned Brahman, Mādhavācharya, whose brother was Sāyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas and other sacred literature.

The city. The capital was established at Vijayanagar, now represented by the extensive ruins at Hampi in the Bellary District of Madras. The kings, who were Kanarese by birth, assumed the Kanarese title of Rāya. Under their care the city progressed with such rapidity that when it was visited in 1443 by a Persian ambassador named Abdur Razzāk, it was one of the most magnificent cities in Asia. Its ruins, which have been surveyed recently in detail, are crowded with fine Hindu buildings, and cover many square miles. The city was protected, like ancient Kanauj, by seven distinct lines of fortifications, and its bazaars swarmed with dealers in all the commodities of the eastern world.

Later history of Vijayanagar; battle of Talikota. As already observed, the external history of the Vijayanagar

kingdom may be summed up in the statement that the Rāyas were engaged continually in fighting their Musalman rivals—at first the Bahmanī kingdom, and then the five sultanates of the Deccan. The most notable of the Rāyas was Krishnadeva (1509–29), who overcame the armies of Orissa, Golkonda, and Bijāpur. The last of them was Rāma, whose arrogance so incensed his neighbours that the five sultans laid aside their private quarrels for a moment and combined against the common Hindu enemy. Enormous armies assembled on both sides and met in battle in January, 1565, at a spot to the north of the Tungabhadra, not very far from the capital. The battle has become known in history by the name of Talikota, although that village is a long way distant from the scene of the conflict. The Rāya was utterly defeated and killed. His splendid city was mercilessly sacked, and ever since has lain desolate.

Grant of the site of Madras. The history of the kingdom of Vijayanagar as an important dominant state ends with the disaster of Talikota, but the successors of Rāma Rāya long ruled a considerable principality in the south, with their capital at first at Penukonda, and afterwards at Chandragiri. In 1639 the Rājā of Chandragiri, in consideration of a yearly rent, executed a conveyance of a strip of sandbank, situated on the bank of the Couum river to the north of the decayed Portuguese settlement of San Thomé, in favour of Mr. Francis Day, a British merchant, Member of Council in the East India Company's Agency at Masulipatam. On the site so granted the city of Madras was founded. The gold plate on which the conveyance is said to have been recorded is alleged to have been lost during the French occupation of Madras, 1745–8.

The Hindu State of Mewār (Udaipur). The Rānā of Mewār, who belongs to the Sīsodia or Gahlot clan of Rājpūts, is admittedly the premier Rājpūt prince. His ancestors never permitted the purity of their blood to be defiled by marriage of their daughters with the Mughal emperors, and their state

never submitted to Musalman power, except to Jahāngīr on honourable terms. The ancient capital, the famous fortress of Chitor, is supposed to have been occupied in the eighth century. Its three sieges, by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī in 1303, by Bahādur Shah of Gujarāt in 1534, and by Akbar in 1567, gave occasion for the display of prodigies of valour by the Rājpūt defenders, and for ghastly tragedies in the sacrifice of the women by fire (*johar*) to save them from capture. After the last siege the Rānā changed his residence to Udaipur, which has been the capital ever since. The two towers at Chitor known as the Kīrti Stambh and Jai Stambh are notable works of Hindu art. The conflict between Rānā Sanga and Bābar will be noticed in the next chapter.

The Hindu kingdom of Orissa. Orissa, including under that name in an extended sense both the modern division of Orissa in Bengal, and the Ganjām and Vizagapatam districts of Madras, always lay by reason of its situation outside the main stream of Indian history. During the greater part of the period of the sultanate of Delhi the country was governed by the Eastern Ganga dynasty. The first of this line in Orissa, Anantavarman Cholaganga, reigned for seventy-one years (1076–1147 A. D.), and established his power over the whole territory between the Ganges and Godāvarī. The temple of Jagannāth at Puri was built under his orders towards the close of the eleventh century.

Muhammadan attacks on Orissa. The Muhammadan historians apply the name of Jājnagar to Orissa. The first Muhammadan inroad into the province was made by an officer of Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār in 1205. Later incursions were led by Fīrōz Shah and others, tempted by the facilities for obtaining elephants in the country. Akbar subdued the kingdom more or less completely, and attached it to the Sūba of Bengal. The way had been prepared for this measure by the invasion of Kāla Pahār, a general of the sultan of Bengal, a few years earlier.

Orissan architecture. The province offers a long series of

fine examples of the 'Indo-Aryan' style of temples with heavy steeples and few pillars. The noble temple of the Sun (Konārka, Kanaruc) at Konakona is proved by inscriptions to have been built or rebuilt by Rājā Nrisimha in the thirteenth century (1238–64), but looks much older, and the magnificent group of temples at Bhuvanesvar appears to extend over a considerable period.

Government of the sultans of Delhi. The government of the sultans of Delhi was an absolute despotism, tempered by rebellion and assassination. The control over distant provinces was lax and slight, and the bonds which connected them with Delhi were easily broken in the disturbed times which followed the tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The subordinate governments were equally despotic, and when the rulers were Musalmans the Hindus generally seem to have had a bad time. Firōz Shah Tughlak was the only sultan who cared to execute public works for the general benefit.

Literature and architecture. Many of the Muhammadan princes had a nice taste in Persian literature which they liberally patronized, and, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 70), the Hindu Rājās often maintained brilliant courts and encouraged Sanskrit letters. The numerous splendid architectural works in the various provinces have been noticed, as well as some of the buildings with which Delhi was adorned. The name of Delhi is applied for convenience to a series of cities beginning with the Old Delhi (Dillī) of Ānanga Pāla in the eleventh century to the New Delhi (Shahjahānabad) of Shahjahān in the seventeenth. The architecture of the sultanate—that is to say, of the Muhammadan buildings—may be described as a Persian style executed and modified by Hindu architects, whom the conquerors were obliged to employ. The term 'Pathan architecture' is as erroneous and misleading as the corresponding terms 'Pathan kings' and 'Pathan empire'.

The Urdu language. The Urdu, or Persianized Hindustani, language grew up gradually as a means of communication between the foreign conquerors, who generally spoke

either Turkī or Persian, and their Hindu subjects. The Western Hindī dialect of Delhi and the upper Doāb is the basis of the language now called Hindustani. When Persian and Arabic words and phrases are freely admitted, that language takes the name of Urdu. The word Urdu is the Turkī for 'camp', and is the origin of the English word 'horde'. It was specially applied to the encampment of the warrior Musalman kings, whose camp was their court, and in the Mughal period coins are often marked as struck in the *urdū*, or royal camp. The Urdu language, therefore, means the form of Hindustani, or polished Western Hindī, spoken about the court, and thus diffused, in several varieties, over the greater part of India. The earliest Urdu literature, written in verse, in the *Rekhta* dialect, was composed in the Deccan towards the close of the sixteenth century. Urdu prose is a recent development under English influence.

Spread of Muhammadanism. We have seen something of the ferocity displayed by the early Muhammadan conquerors against Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists, all equally hated because of their use of images in worship. Occasionally a Hindu Raja and his followers were tempted to save their lives by professing the creed of Islam, and many of the Indian Musalman families of the present day are descended from converts made at the point of the sword in the period of the sultanate. Desire to escape payment of the *jizya* or poll-tax imposed on all non-Muhammadans was a powerful motive which influenced many conversions, especially among the lower classes. Constant immigration of Musalmans also went on, and the natural increase of the offspring of such settlers soon formed a large Muhammadan element in many parts of India, especially at and near the capital cities.

Influence of Islam on Hinduism. The religion of the strangers, with its insistence on the great doctrine that 'there is one God', undoubtedly influenced the spirit of Hindu teaching and had much to do with the appearance of a number of religious reformers who preached to the effect that all religions

are essentially the same, and all honour the one God under different names.

Rāmānuja, Rāmānand, Kabīr, Nānak, Chaitanya. Rāmānuja, who lived at Srīrangam in the south at the close of the eleventh and in the first half of the twelfth century, is recognized as one of the greatest of the teachers who gave special devotion to the Deity in the form of Vishnu. His teaching, which even in his lifetime was not confined to the south, was propagated in the north during the fourteenth century by Rāmānand, who sought especially to serve the souls of the poorer and more despised classes. He preferred to honour God under the name of Rāma. The most renowned of his twelve disciples was Kabīr (1380–1420 A. D.), whose terse sayings are on everybody's lips in Upper India. His teaching had so much in common with diverse creeds that both Musalmans and Hindus claimed him as their own. In the fifteenth century, Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect, taught his disciples on Kabīr's lines, and had followers among the Musalmans as well as the Hindus. Bengal especially venerates the memory of Chaitanya of Nuddea (Navadvīpa, 1485–1533), who denounced the use of animal food, the practice of bloody sacrifice, and the use of stimulants. He, in common with many other teachers, rejected the old Brahman doctrine of salvation by knowledge, and pleaded that men and women could be saved only by fervent living faith (*bhakti*) in a personal, loving God.

The doctrine of faith (*bhakti*). This doctrine of *bhakti*, which has much in common with some forms of Christianity, may be traced back to the *Bhagavad-gītā* (*ante*, p. 29), and lies at the base of perhaps the greater part of mediaeval and modern Hindu literature in the various vernaculars. The writers may be divided into three classes according as the object of their worship is Rāma, Krishna, or some form of Siva or his consort. Tulsī Dās (*ante*, p. 30), a truly great poet (1532–1623), has done more than anybody else to teach the masses of the people in Upper India the beauty of faith in Rāma, the Saviour. Chaitanya found the objects of his devotion in Krishna and his

divine queen, Rādhā, and by the addition of the feminine element produced a highly emotional form of religion, congenial to the Bengali temperament. Loving faith in the Deity manifested as Siva found fervent expression in the 'Sacred Utterances' of the Tamil poet, saint, and sage, Mānikka-vāsagar, who is supposed to have lived in the tenth century. In Bengal the worship of Durgā, Siva's consort, is more favoured.

BOOK IV

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE FROM 1526 TO 1761 A.D.

CHAPTER XVI

Bābar; Humāyun; Sher Shah and the Sūr dynasty.

Early life of Bābar. Bābar (Zāhir-ud-dīn Muhammad), king of Kābul, whom Daulat Khan called in as his ally against Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī of Delhi (*ante*, p. 88), was the most remarkable prince of his age. Descended in the male line from Taimūr, in the female from the stock of Chingiz Khan, he succeeded his father, Omar Shaikh, on the throne of the little kingdom of Ferghanà or Khokand at the age of eleven. In the course of a stormy youth he passed through countless adventures, and by the time he was twenty-eight years of age (1511 A.D.) had been driven out of his ancestral realm and had thrice won and lost the kingdom of Samarkand. Seven years earlier he had seized Kābul, and from that time, being disappointed in his ambition to restore the empire of Taimūr in Central Asia, directed his thoughts and hopes towards the rich plains of India.

Raids on India, 1505–25 A.D. In 1505 Bābar occupied Ghaznī and raided the Indian frontier as far as the Indus, but he did not cross that river until 1519, when he effected a temporary occupation of part of the Panjāb. This campaign was notable for Bābar's effective use of European artillery, then a novelty in the East. In 1524, in response to the appeal of Daulat Khan and Ālam Khan, the uncle and rival of Sultan Ibrāhīm, he reached Lahore and Debālpur, sacking both. But in consequence of Daulat Khan's desertion, Bābar was obliged

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to return to Kābul for reinforcements, and his final invasion of India did not begin until November, 1525.

First battle of Pānīpat, 1526. Bābar's little force of less than 12,000 men met the host of Sultan Ibrāhīm, estimated to number about 100,000 men, on the plain of Pānīpat, some fifty miles to the north of Delhi, on April 21, 1526. The invader had the advantage of possessing seven hundred field-guns; the sultan, after the Indian manner, relied on his elephants and, like Porus, found them useless to protect his infantry against cavalry well handled. Bābar executed the manœuvre which Alexander had found so successful against Porus, and wheeling his horsemen round with resistless speed, attacked the enemy's rear. In the course of the forenoon the army of Delhi was completely routed, and Sultan Ibrāhīm lay dead on the field with fifteen thousand of his men.

Bābar proclaimed as Padshah. The victor, who used the title of Padshah in preference to that of Sultan, quickly occupied Delhi and Agra, being proclaimed sovereign at both cities on Friday, April 27. Vast booty having been distributed, Bābar's troops, disgusted with the intense heat, longed to return to the cool hills of Kābul, and were appeased with difficulty by a speech from their commander.

Battle of Kanwāha or Sikrī, 1527. During the short remainder of his life Bābar was employed in trying to secure the foothold which he had obtained in the country, and had no leisure to think of the problems of civil government. His most formidable foe was the gallant Rānā Sanga, lord of the fortress of Chitor, chieftain of Mewār, head of the Rājpūt clans, and leader of a confederacy comprising more than a hundred Hindu princes. The Rānā, whose valour in countless fights was proved by the eighty wounds on his body, brought into the field a huge army supposed to number 200,000. Bābar's force, which was much inferior in numbers, but superior in artillery and generalship, met the Hindu host at Kanwāha (Kanwa, Khanwah) near Sikrī, about twenty miles from Agra, on March 16, 1527. From morning until evening the battle was

fiercely contested, but was decided against the Hindus by the tactics which had succeeded at Pānīpat. The victory was complete, and the Rājpūt power was broken. The storming of Chanderi, a strong fortress in the south-east of Mālwā, crowned the victory, and left Bābar free to deal with other enemies.

Battle of the Ghāghra (Gogra). Bābar's third great Indian battle was fought in May, 1529, near the confluence of the Ghāghra with the Ganges, against the Afghan chiefs of Bihār and Bengal, who had taken up the cause of Mahmūd, the brother of Sultan Ibrāhīm, who fell at Pānīpat. This conflict too resulted in victory for the Padshah, who made a treaty with Nasrat Shah, the independent king of Bengal, and became the sovereign of Bihār. But Bābar's sovereignty was of a very precarious kind, and depended solely on the power of his sword; the task of converting a mere military occupation into a well-ordered government was reserved for his grandson.

Death of Bābar. His stormy life ended in 1530, when he was only forty-eight years of age. A pathetic story related in an appendix to his *Memoirs* tells how his beloved son Humāyun was desperately ill with fever, and was believed to have been saved by his father's taking the malady on himself. This touching incident happened at Sambhal in Rohilkhand. On December 26, 1530, Bābar passed away in his palace at Agra. His dust lies in the garden on the hill at Kābul, 'the sweetest spot in the neighbourhood,' which he had chosen to be his last resting-place.

Character of Bābar. Few warrior princes have left behind them a memory as pleasing as that of Bābar. Like all the kings of his family he loved literature and the society of polished and learned men. In his inimitable *Memoirs* he has drawn a living picture of himself, his virtues and vices, his wisdom and his folly, which stands almost alone in literature. Valiant, strong, and fearless beyond the common, he was no mere soldier, but is justly entitled to the higher praise due to a capable general. At times, no doubt, he allowed himself to display something of the bloodthirsty ferocity of his ancestors,

but in general his conduct was marked by chivalrous generosity. He was a man of strong affections, and inspired by a tender, passionate admiration for the beauties of nature which is rare among the 'men of blood and iron'. For some years he, like many of his ancestors and descendants, allowed his noble qualities to be obscured by intemperance, but his will was strong enough to subdue his vice, and when he found himself committed to a life and death struggle with Rānā Sanga he broke his cups and never tasted wine again.

Humāyun. Humāyun, the eldest of his four sons, designated by Bābar as his successor, was nominally master of an empire extending from the Karamnāsa on the frontier of Bengal to the Oxus, and from the Himalayas to the Narbadā. But he was obliged immediately to relinquish the Kābul and Panjāb territories to his next brother, Kāmrān, in practical independence, and had no firm hold of any part of his wide dominions. The Mughal Padshah at this time was merely the leader of a horde of foreign adventurers compelled continually to battle for existence against the leaders of earlier settled hordes and innumerable Hindu Rājās.

Expulsion of Humāyun, 1540. Cut off from the north-western territories by Kāmrān's kingdom, Humāyun was placed between two strong powers—Gujarāt, under Bahādur, on the west, and Bihār, under Sher Khan, on the east. Early in his reign Humāyun defeated Bahādur and marched across his country to Cambay on the coast, but was recalled to meet the eastern danger, and Bahādur quickly recovered his kingdom. Ṣher Khan, the Afghan, who had made himself master of Bihār and the strong fortress of Rohtās, inflicted two crushing defeats on Humāyun, at Chausa on the Ganges near the mouth of the Karamnāsa (1539), and again in the following year at Kanauj. The last battle cost Humāyun his throne, which was occupied by his opponent under the title of Sher Shāh (1540). As Sher Shāh belonged to the Sūr tribe of Afghans or Pathans his dynasty is known by the name of Sūr.

Exile of Humāyun. Humāyun now became a homeless

wanderer. He tried in vain to obtain help from his brother Kāmrān, but that prince withdrew to Kābul, and left the Panjāb to Sher Shāh. The exile then sought aid from the chiefs of Sind and the Hindu Rājā, Maldeo of Marwār, without success. In the course of painful wanderings with a few followers through waterless desert Humāyun reached Amarkot in Sind, where, on November 23, 1542, his son Akbar (Muhammad Jalāl-ud-dīn) was born.[1] Thence the ex-king moved to Kandahar, then held by his brother Askarī under Kāmrān, and ultimately was obliged to throw himself on the mercy of Shah Tahmāsp of Persia. During these times the child Akbar underwent many dangers and was long separated from his father.

Sher Shah's government. Sher Shah, the new ruler, controlled Bihār and Bengal as well as north-western India, and waged successful war with Mālwā, but did not live long enough to establish a settled form of government, being killed in May, 1545, by an explosion while besieging the fortress of Kālanjar in Bundelkhand. During his short reign he gave indications of marked ability as a civil governor by reforming the coinage and laying the foundations of a regular system of revenue administration on which Akbar was able to build successfully. He constructed a high road from Bengal to the north-west, the forerunner of Lord Dalhousie's Grand Trunk Road, and erected many public buildings.

Islām (Salīm) Shah Sūr, 1545–54. Sher Shah was succeeded by his second son, Islām or Salīm, who managed to retain the throne for more than seven years, although not without continual dispute. He is reputed to have been an able man, but the times were too unsettled to permit him to make his mark. When he died his infant son, who was

[1] 14th Shaban, 949 A. H. = Sat., Nov. 23, 1542, as recorded by Jauhar, who was with Humāyun at the time. The official date, Sunday, October 15 (New Style = October 5, Old Style), given by Abūl Fazl and other historians, probably was adopted in order to conceal the true time of the nativity, and so protect Akbar against witchcraft. (*J.A.S.B.*, part i, 1886, p. 88.)

proclaimed king, was promptly murdered by his maternal uncle, Mubāriz Khan.

Muhammad Shah Ādil and other Sūr claimants. The murderer ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah Ādil, the last word meaning 'just', being singularly inapplicable to a man who was a good-for-nothing sensualist. He can hardly be said to have reigned, because all power was in the hands of his minister Hīmū, a clever Hindu baniya of Mewāt, and Muhammad Ādil's right to the royal seat was contested by two relatives—Ibrāhīm, at Agra and Delhi, and Ahmad Khan, who took the title of Sikandar Shah, in the Panjāb. It is unnecessary to recount the details of the contests between these claimants.

Return of Humāyun. Early in 1555, Humāyun, who had secured Persian help by conforming to the Shiah creed, crossed the Indus, his forces being commanded by Bairām Khan, a competent officer. The exiled king re-occupied Delhi in July, 1555, but enjoyed his recovered throne for a few months only, losing his life in January, 1556, by a fall from the stairs of his library.

Character of Humāyun. As a private gentleman Humāyun deserved nothing but praise. Like most members of his family, he was highly educated and deeply interested in literature and science, his special hobbies being mathematics and astronomy. As a king in troublous times he was not a success, and there is reason to believe that the weakness and instability of character which he displayed in the conduct of public affairs were largely due to his addiction to the vice of opium-taking, which benumbed his will and energies. He was generous and merciful in disposition, and seems to have been almost free from the Mongol ferocity, flashes of which sometimes broke out even in Akbar.

CHAPTER XVII

European voyages to India : discovery of the Cape route ; the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French, and English Companies ; early settlements.

Survey of early European settlements. Before entering on the story of the Mughal empire as established by Akbar it will be convenient to take a brief survey of the early European intercourse with and settlements in India, which began at the close of the fifteenth century and steadily developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the time of the glory of the 'Great Moguls'. Reference has been made to the victory gained by the Portuguese in 1509 over the combined fleets of Egypt and Gujarāt (*ante*, p. 92); and the frequent mention of the foreign settlers on the coasts in the following pages will be made more easily intelligible by the help of a connected account of their proceedings.

Discovery of the Cape route. Although in the early centuries of the Christian era the Roman merchants had been familiar with the navigation between the Red Sea and the Malabar coast, the Muhammadan occupation of Egypt in the seventh century completely closed all intercourse between Europe and the East through Egypt, and the trade by sea passed exclusively into Muhammadan hands. In the fifteenth century the European explorers, then very active, and having no hope of reopening the old Egyptian route, busied themselves with trying to discover a long sea route by sailing round Africa, a process commonly called 'doubling the Cape', that is to say, sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. That process, now so easy, was difficult in the fifteen century for tiny sailing ships, commonly of less than one hundred tons burden. But in 1486 a Portuguese captain, Bartholomeu Dias, showed how the thing could be done.

Vasco da Gama at Calicut, 1498. Twelve years later, in the summer of 1498, another Portuguese officer, Vasco da Gama, following the track of Dias, arrived at Calicut on the Malabar

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coast with three ships, and having done some trade made his way back to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. The king of Portugal, delighted at the prospect of acquiring the riches of the Indies, was arrogant enough to assume the title of 'Lord of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India'.

Conquest of Goa, &c.; Albuquerque. Many other Portuguese expeditions followed, and gradually the foreigners succeeded in establishing either factories—that is to say, trading stations—or fortresses at Calicut, Cannanore, Goa, and other places on the western coast. They also occupied Ceylon, the island of Socotra near the entrance to the Red Sea, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, and Malacca in the Far East. The basis of the Portuguese power was Goa, captured in 1510 by Albuquerque, the greatest of the Portuguese governors. The strangers assumed full sovereign powers within the limits of the island of Goa, where they built a magnificent city, now desolate and in ruins, but still under the Portuguese flag. Albuquerque, who, like all his countrymen, hated Muhammadans with a bitter hatred, begotten of the long struggle in Europe between the Portuguese and the Musalman kingdom of southern Spain, disgraced his victory at Goa by the massacre of the whole Muhammadan population, men, women, and children.

Albuquerque's administration of Goa. Albuquerque's cruelty was reserved for the followers of Islam, and, as an old Muhammadan writer puts it, 'he evinced no dislike towards the Nairs and other Pagans of similar descriptions.' In the administration of the Goa district he made free use of Hindu officials and clerks, and established schools for the education of the latter. He also employed a force of sepoys, or native soldiers, and had the courage to prohibit absolutely the burning of widows as *satis*, which continued to be lawful in British India until 1829.

The Portuguese empire and its decline. Although during almost the whole of the sixteenth century, up to 1595, the Portuguese were masters of the Eastern seas, and held

the monopoly or sole control of the Indian sea-borne foreign trade, their power declined as quickly as it had risen, and before the date named had been much reduced. The destruction in 1565 of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, with which Goa did much business, was a serious blow to the prosperity of that city. The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in the person of Philip II in 1580 dragged the lesser kingdom into the Spanish wars with Holland and England, and the strain of keeping up a maritime empire in the East proved to be too great for the resources of so small a country as Portugal. Grave mistakes in policy also were made, of which the most fatal was the mad attempt to force all natives in the Portuguese possessions to become Christians. Of course the attempt failed, but while it lasted was attended by much cruelty and oppression. This blunder was the work of Albuquerque's successors, not of the Great Captain himself. The small settlements at Goa, Damān, and Diu on the western coast are now all that is left of the Portuguese dominions in India.

Dutch command of the Eastern seas. In the first half of the seventeenth century the command of the Eastern seas gradually passed to the Dutch, with whom it was disputed by the English. In 1602 all the Dutch private trading companies were combined under state patronage into 'The United East India Company of the Netherlands', which quickly became a rich and powerful corporation. At various dates the Portuguese settlements on the coast of India were attacked or occupied, and in 1658 the Dutch drove the Portuguese from Ceylon. But the centre of the Dutch power in the East always was in the Malay Archipelago, rather than in India, and Holland, in spite of many ups and downs of fortune, still retains Java and other valuable possessions in the Far East.

Danish settlements. Denmark made an effort to share in the profits of the Indian trade, and in 1620 founded a settlement at Tranquebar in the Tanjore district, where a mint was established. Later, Serampore near Calcutta was occupied.

The Danes never made any deep impression on India, and in 1845 were content to sell their small settlements to the British Government.

Struggle between the Dutch and English. The struggle during the seventeenth century between the Dutch and the English for command of the Eastern seas and control of the sea-borne trade was long and severe. The general result was that the Dutch retained their leading position in the Malay Archipelago and Ceylon, but failed to attain considerable power in India. Their principal settlements on the mainland were at Pulicat and Tuticorin on the Coromandel coast and at Chinsurah near Calcutta. Clive forced Chinsurah to capitulate in 1759, and now nothing remains of the Dutch settlements except many tombs with quaint armorial bearings, and a few old houses and small canals. During the Napoleonic wars Holland lost Ceylon, and even Java, but that valuable possession was restored to her in 1816. Ceylon was retained by England, and ever since has been administered as a Crown Colony.

The Company's first Charter; Portuguese opposition. The first serious effort made by Englishmen to claim a share in the Eastern trade was marked on the last day of the year 1600 by the incorporation under charter from Queen Elizabeth of the East India Company in its first form as 'The Governor and Company of Merchants *of London* trading into the East Indies'. The Portuguese and Dutch did their best to hinder the progress of their new rivals, but the Portuguese opposition was crushed by naval defeats inflicted on them in 1612 and 1615 off Swally (Suvāli) near Surat, and by the temporary occupation in 1622 of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Cromwell, in 1654, forced the Portuguese to acknowledge by treaty England's right to trade in the Eastern seas.

Factory at Surat; Sir Thomas Roe. The first English factory or trading station was established at Surat in 1608 and confirmed by imperial grant after the naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612. Three years later King James I of

England sent out Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Padshah Jahāngīr. Sir Thomas spent more than three years in India, and, although he failed to obtain the treaty which he asked for, was able to do a good deal to help his countrymen. He wrote a book giving a very interesting account of the character, court, and administration of Jahāngīr as they appeared to an intelligent foreigner.

English stations on western coast; Bombay. From time to time during the seventeenth century English trading stations, or factories, were established at various points on the Indian coasts, including one set up in 1644 at a place called Vizhingam in Travancore. The purchase of the site of Madras in 1639 has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 96). The cession by the Portuguese in 1661 of the island of Bombay as part of the dowry of Princess Catharine of Braganza, who married King Charles II of England, marks an important stage in the development of the Anglo-Indian Empire. But so little was the future grandeur of Bombay foreseen that the king was content to grant the island to the East India Company for £10 a year, equivalent to about a thousand rupees at the present time.

English stations on eastern coast; Calcutta. The earliest English trading stations on the Bengal side were established in 1633 at Balasore and an obscure place called Hariharpur in Orissa. Eighteen years later a settlement was made at Hūglī (Hooghly), official favour being won through the professional services rendered by a surgeon named Gabriel Broughton to the family of the Muhammadan governor of Bengal. Job Charnock, the chief of the station at Hūglī, tried to set up a branch establishment on the site of Calcutta in 1686, but was driven out by the hostility of Nawāb Shāyista Khan, Aurangzeb's uncle, and obliged to take refuge at Madras.[1] In 1690 he came back, under authority given by Aurangzeb, and definitely founded the small settlement which has grown into Calcutta, now the second largest city in the British Empire.

[1] Shāyista Khan was transferred in 1663 from the Deccan to Bengal, where he died in 1694, aged 93.

Early history of Calcutta. The settlement founded by Job Charnock, who died in 1692 and lies buried in the cemetery of St. John's Church, was at the village of Sutānatī. Fortifications were erected by permission of the Nawāb of Bengal in 1696, and the fort built a few years later was named Fort William, in honour of King William III, the reigning sovereign of England. During the eighteenth century the original fort was replaced by the present structure. About 1700 the Company purchased Sutānatī with two other villages, Kalikāta and Govindpur, from Azīm-ush-shān, governor of Bengal, grandson of Aurangzeb, and father of the Emperor Farrukhsīyar. The city which began to grow up on the sites of the three villages became known as Calcutta. Important privileges were again secured to the settlers by means of services rendered by another surgeon, named Hamilton, to Farrukhsīyar. In 1742 the Marāthās under Bālājī Rāo Peshwā were at the height of their power, and their attitude was so threatening that the English obtained permission from Nawāb Ali Verdi Khan to protect their settlement by an outer line of imperfect fortification, which remained for a long time famous as 'the Mahratta ditch'. It corresponds with the line of the modern Circular Road.

After the tragedy of the Black Hole in 1756 and the battle of Plassey in the following year, the history of Calcutta merges in that of British India. Its rank as the capital of the Indian Empire dates from 1774, when Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General. In the seventeenth century the Bengal settlements had been subordinate to Madras, which was itself supposed to be dependent on Surat.

Early history of the East India Company. The Company, notwithstanding Queen Elizabeth's Charter, had serious rivals in other associations of English merchants, and did not become really prosperous until 1661, when it obtained a fresh Charter from Charles II, and was granted the rights of coinage and jurisdiction over English subjects in the East. But some thirty years later the Company again became involved in great

difficulties, which lasted until 1702, when it was reconstructed as 'The United Company of Merchants *of England* trading to the East Indies'. The union was confirmed by Parliament in 1708.

The subsequent dealings of the Crown and Parliament with the Company will be noticed from time to time in the course of the historical narrative.

French settlements. The French were late in making their appearance on the Indian coasts, and never acquired direct control of any considerable territory. Various early adventures having proved to be failures, a strong association, entitled *La Compagnie des Indes*, was formed in 1664 under the patronage of King Louis XIV. But the French Government failed to keep up a lively interest in the Company's affairs, and French enterprise in India always suffered for want of adequate support from home. However, Pondicherry on the Madras coast, founded in 1674, became a flourishing settlement, and still is a fairly prosperous town. After the Napoleonic wars the French were permitted to retain or recover Pondicherry and Karikal on the Madras coast, Mahé on the west coast, Yanaon at the mouth of the Godāvarī, and Chandernagore near Calcutta, over all of which the flag of the French Republic still waves. But these settlements are of no political importance. The events of the contest between the French and English for supremacy in Southern India will be dealt with as incidents in the general history.

CHAPTER XVIII

The reign of Akbar: Todar Mall; Abūl Fazl.

Accession of Akbar. Immediately after Humāyun's death his eldest son Akbar, a boy thirteen years of age, was proclaimed Padshah. The regency was undertaken by Bairām Khan, with the title of Khan-i-Khānān. The young monarch's throne was in great danger, being assailed by Hīmū, the general of Muhammed Ādil Sūr, and also by Sikandar Shāh

Sūr on his own account. The efforts of the latter came to nought, but the contest with Hīmū, who had set up as Rājā Bikramajit (Vikramāditya) at Delhi, was more serious.

Second battle of Pānīpat, November 5, 1556. The Hindu claimant, 'with 1,500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, came to offer battle at Pānīpat,' on the field where Ibrāhīm Lodī and so many gallant men had met their death thirty years before (*ante*, p. 104). Hīmū began badly by losing his artillery, but relied chiefly, in the old Hindu fashion, on his elephants, which delivered a terrifying charge. They were received with a shower of arrows, one of which struck Hīmū in the eye, rendering him unconscious. His army then fled, and Hīmū, who still breathed, was captured. The boy Akbar refusing to flesh his sword on a dying prisoner, Bairām Khan and some of his officers dispatched him. 'Nearly 1,500 elephants, and treasure and stores to such an amount that even fancy is powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil.' A minaret was built of the heads of the slain, and Delhi was promptly occupied by the victors.

Occupation of Ajmēr, Gwalior, and Jaunpur. Akbar was now firmly seated on the throne of the sultan of Delhi, which had been occupied for a few years by his father and grandfather, but he had yet many fights to wage before he could feel himself emperor of Hindustan. During the next three years the claimants belonging to the Sūr dynasty were defeated, and Ajmēr, Gwalior, and Jaunpur were occupied.

Dismissal and death of the regent. In March, 1560, young Akbar, conscious of the powers of budding manhood, and spurred on by the ladies of the court, determined to free himself from the control of his too masterful regent, and sent a message to Bairām Khan, requiring him to proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca. The regent yielded to this imperious command and surrendered the insignia of office, but, on second thoughts, attempted rebellion. He was defeated, pardoned, and sent off to Mecca. He arrived at Patan in Gujarāt, and

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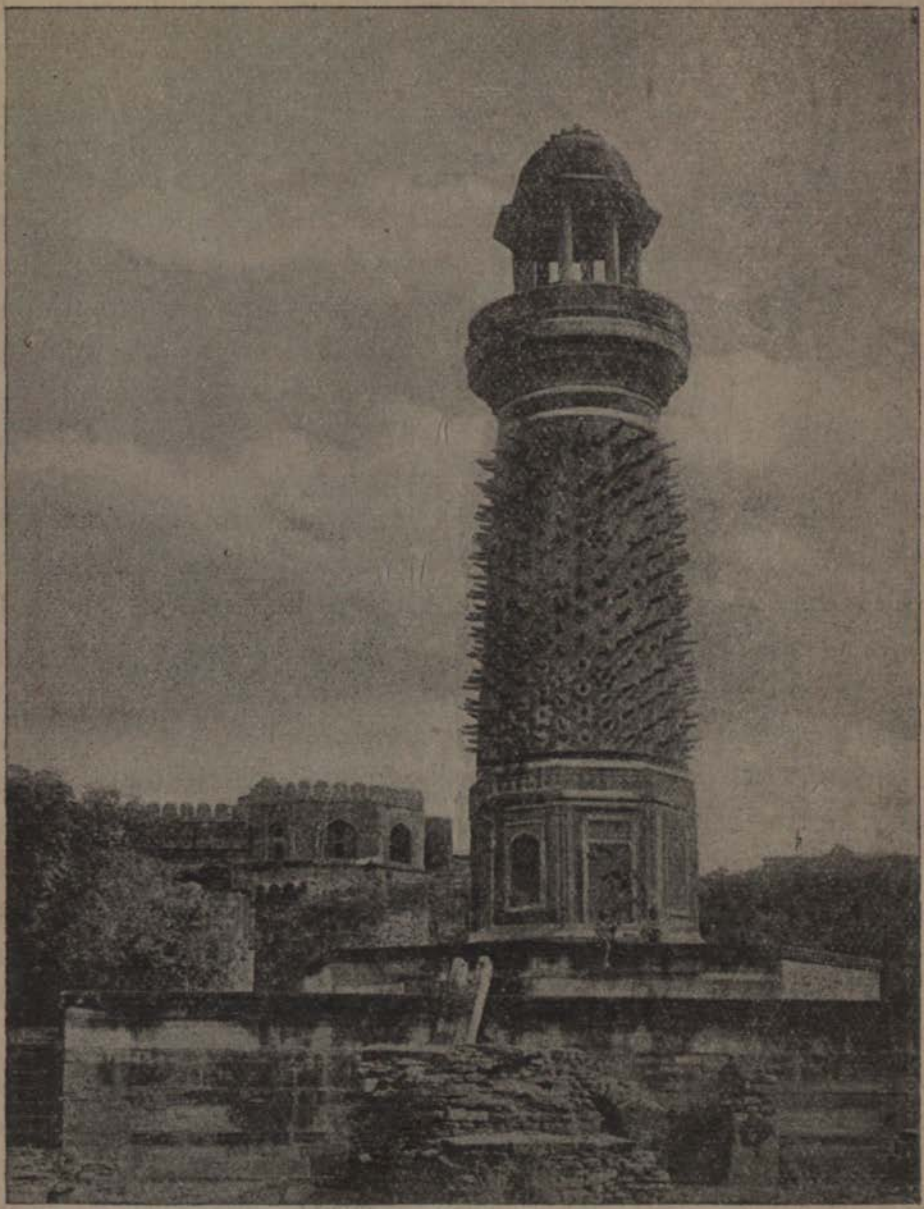
was there stabbed to death by an Afghan, whose father had been executed by his orders. Thus was Akbar freed from his Bismarck, and left at liberty for forty-five years to carry out his policy of converting a military occupation into an ordered empire.

Akbar's wars. But when we speak of an 'ordered empire' we must not think of a country as peaceful as the India of the present day. Throughout Akbar's long reign the sword was never sheathed, and the great nobles were never at rest. The detailed chronicles of the time are full of stories of intrigues, murders, rebellions, and wars. Akbar himself, although terrible in his hot wrath, was of a merciful and forgiving disposition, and rarely allowed himself to be tempted to the commission of deeds of cruelty. His generals often displayed the old Mongol ferocity, and even Badāonī, who was not easily shocked, was horrified at the bloodthirsty proceedings of Pīr Muhammad Khan during the reduction of Mālwā in the early years of the reign. The main interest of Akbar's notable rule lies, not in his numerous wars, which were like other wars, but in his personal character and his unique policy.

Siege of Chitor, 1567–8. Among the most famous military feats of the reign was the storming of the Rājpūt fortress of Chitor (*ante*, p. 97), the siege of which lasted for four months, from October, 1567, to February, 1568. The operations of the besiegers were under the personal direction of Akbar, who himself shot the Rājpūt commander, Jaimall, through the head. That shot decided the fate of the fortress. The defenders quitted the walls, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters by the awful rite of *johar*, or sacrifice by fire. Then they devoted themselves to death, fighting in every house and for every foot of ground, until they were all slain. The Rānā was not in the fortress during the siege, but remained in hiding, and subsequently transferred his capital to Udaypur. Within the following two years Akbar compelled the surrender of Ranthambor in Rājputāna and Kālanjar in Bundelkhand, then considered two of the strongest forts in India.



ELEPHANT TOWER

Reduction of Gujarāt. The next great military operation undertaken was the conquest of Gujarāt, which had long been independent (*ante*, p. 91), and was occupied only temporarily by Humāyun in 1535. But that transitory conquest effected by his father was enough to give Akbar a pretext for an effort to re-annex the kingdom, and so to make himself master of Western India to the sea-coast. The imperial designs were furthered by dissensions among the local nobles. The annexation was carried out without very much fighting, and the unheroic king, Muzaffar Shah, was found hiding in a cornfield. He was treated with contemptuous lenity and given a pension of thirty or forty rupees a month. After some years he escaped and gave much trouble until he committed suicide.

Surat; suppression of revolt, 1573. The important fortress of Surat was taken in the early part of 1573, after investment for a month and a half. On this occasion the emperor for the first time came into contact with the Portuguese, who sent an embassy from Goa to meet him. In June Akbar returned to Sikrī near Agra, and was hardly back when reports were received of a revolt in the newly conquered kingdom. He made all necessary military arrangements with the utmost quickness, and starting himself, mounted on a swift dromedary, from Sikrī in August, covered the 800 miles between that place and Patan in eleven days. The rebels, who could hardly believe the news of his arrival, were defeated after a hard fight, and Akbar returned to Sikrī on October 6, after an absence of only forty-three days. From this time Sikrī was given the name of Fathpur, 'the city of victory.' It would be difficult to find in history an example of equally rapid and decisive action by the sovereign of a great monarchy.

Dāūd, king of Bengal. Bengal, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 89), had been independent, usually under Muhammadan kings, since the fourteenth century. Sulaiman, an able monarch, whose general, Rājū, surnamed Kālā Pahār, had plundered the temple of Jagannāth and overrun Orissa, ac-

knowledged a nominal dependence on Akbar. When he died in 1572 he was succeeded, after an interval of dispute, by his son Dāūd, who was not disposed to submit to the Mughal power. Akbar, while engaged in Gujarāt, kept his eye on the affairs of Bengal, and as soon as he had arranged the business in the west, commissioned Todar Mall to undertake the subjugation of the east.

Defeat and death of Dāūd, 1576. In 1574, during the height of the rainy season, Akbar in person appeared on the scene near Patna, defeated Dāūd, and occupied Patna, where immense booty was taken. Dāūd escaped into Orissa, and at the beginning of 1575 Akbar returned to Fathpur-Sikrī. Soon afterwards the king of Bengal was forced to consent to do homage and pay tribute, but quickly broke his engagements. Next year he was captured by the imperial officers and put to death. Thus ended the independent kingdom of Bengal. But when historians speak of independent Bengal, the phrase must be understood as referring only to the independence of the kingdom from the control of the rulers of Delhi and Agra. In those days the Hindu population of the province was of little account, and possessed no authority, the kings and chiefs who fought the sultans and Padshahs of the north-west being usually foreign chiefs of Afghan origin.

Rājpūt rising; battle of Gogandah, 1576. During the progress of the operations in Bengal the emperor's forces had to contend with a formidable uprising in Rājputāna, under the leadership of Rānā Partāb Singh of Udaypur. He was defeated in June, 1576, by Mān Singh at Gogandah or Kokandah (also known as Haldīghāt), north of Udaypur, in a hotly contested battle, vividly described by the historian Badāonī, who took an active part in it. Arrangements were made to curb the Rājpūts by building fifty blockhouses (*thānas*) in the hills, but the Udaypur country never was really subdued.

Result of twenty years' war. In 1576, twenty years after the second battle of Pānīpat, Akbar had succeeded in making

himself the Lord Paramount of all India proper to the north of the Vindhyas, exacting a more or less complete and willing obedience from innumerable turbulent feudatories. But fighting never ceased, and the imperial generals had much to do in Bengal and Bihār until 1586. Those provinces were not wholly quieted until 1592.

Annexation of Kābul, 1585. Muhammad Hakīm Mirzā, the younger half-brother of Akbar, born at Kābul in 1554, was recognized from infancy as the nominal ruler of the Kābul province, which was actually administered by various nobles in succession, apparently in practical independence. In 1582 Muhammad Hakīm, who had hopes of winning his brother's Indian throne, invaded the Panjāb, but was repulsed and obliged to accept Akbar's suzerainty. His death in July, 1585, brought Kābul under Akbar's effective jurisdiction.

Lahore, Akbar's capital for thirteen years. The death of his brother and other pressing affairs made it necessary for the emperor to move towards the north-west. Starting from Fathpur-Sikrī in August, 1584, he reached Attock (Atak-Banāras) towards the end of December. He remained in the north until November, 1598, making Lahore his capital for thirteen years. At the end of 1585 four imperial armies were in motion, directed severally against the tribesmen in the Khyber Pass on the road to Kābul, the Yūsufzai of the Peshāwar country, the Balūchis, and Kashmīr, which kingdom Akbar was resolved to annex. Early in 1586 the force operating against the Yūsufzai suffered a severe defeat, and the slain included Rājā Bīrbal, the Brahman, one of Akbar's dearest and most intimate friends. The tribesmen were sternly chastised, but not subdued.

Conquest of Kashmīr, 1586–7; and Sind. From the time of Bābar, the Mughal sovereigns of India had felt a desire to possess the delightful valley of Kashmīr, but neither Bābar nor Humāyun had leisure to undertake the conquest of the country. A cousin of Bābar's, Haidar Mirzā Doghlat, the celebrated author of the history entitled *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, made

himself master of it, and ruled well and wisely for eleven years, until 1551. In 1572 the reigning king, also a Musalman, made a formal recognition of Akbar's supremacy, by consenting that his name should be recited as that of the sovereign in the public prayers. But then, and for many years afterwards, Akbar was far too busy in Gujarāt, Bengal, and elsewhere to be able to attend to Kashmīr. He could not attempt the conquest of the mountain kingdom until he had made his position in the plains fairly safe. When he was free to make the attempt, a pretext for interference was easily found. The occupation was effected by Akbar's generals without excessive difficulty in 1586–7, and from that time Kashmīr became an integral part of the Mughal empire. A little later, after a tedious campaign, the province of Sind, partially subdued in 1588, was finally conquered. Kandahar was taken from the Persians in 1594.

Result of forty years' wars. By 1596 Akbar was master of the whole of Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal on the east to the Arabian Sea on the west, as well as of the Indus valley, and the greater part of the present kingdom of Afghanistan. The conquest of the South remained, and to that task Akbar devoted the energies of his remaining years, as far as they were not absorbed in the problems of internal administration, and the difficulties caused by the misconduct of his eldest son.

Preparations for invasion of the Deccan. Akbar's long-cherished designs on the Deccan were much aided by the dissensions of the local princes and nobles, who were unable to form a firm league among themselves to withstand the common foe. The ordinary political strife was made more bitter by sectarian quarrels of the Shīah with the Sunnī Muhammadans. In 1591 Akbar sent embassies to the four kingdoms of the Deccan, Khāndesh, Bijāpur, Golkonda or Hyderabad, and Ahmadnagar, to demand recognition of his authority. The sultan of the small state of Khāndesh submitted readily, and thus secured for the emperor free

passage by the Burhānpur and Asīrgarh road, but the other kingdoms refused to do homage.

Siege of Ahmadnagar, 1595. Traitorous invitations smoothed the path of the Mughals, and in December, 1595, the emperor's second son, Prince Murād, invested Ahmadnagar. The Mughal operations were weakened by discord between the prince and his colleague, Abdurrahīm Khan-i-Khānān, the son of Bairām Khan, regent in Akbar's youth. The defence was heartened by the gallantry of a woman, Chand Bībī, a lady of the royal house, rightly called Chand Sultan, who donned armour, and sword in hand held the breach made by the besiegers' mines. The attempt to storm failed, and Murād withdrew when Chand Bībī agreed to cede Berār.

Fall of Ahmadnagar, 1600. In the autumn of 1600, Chand Bībī meantime having been murdered, Ahmadnagar was again besieged and taken by Prince Dāniyāl, Akbar's youngest son. The emperor formally constituted a new Sūba, or government, under the name of Ahmadnagar, but, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the kingdom remained under the rule of members of the local royal family, and was not really annexed until 1637, in the reign of Shahjahān.

Siege and capture of Asīrgarh, January, 1601. Meantime, the little state of Khāndesh, friendly to Akbar in 1591, had become hostile in consequence of local revolutions. The ruler of this kingdom possessed the stronghold of Asīrgarh, situated north-east of Burhānpur on a spur of the Satpura range, and thus commanded the main road to the Deccan. The capture of this fortress, the strongest in India, was necessary for the progress and safety of the imperial army. The siege accordingly was begun early in 1600 and lasted for more than eleven months, until January, 1601, when an outbreak of pestilence within the walls rendered the place untenable. In 1820 the same fortress surrendered to Sir John Malcolm after a bombardment of eleven days.

The last of Akbar's conquests. The taking of Ahmadnagar and Asīrgarh closes the long roll of the victories of

Akbar, who was not destined to make further progress in the subjugation of the South. His force was now spent, and the record of the last four years of his strenuous life leaves on the mind a painful impression of disillusion, disappointment, sorrow, and failure. Akbar returned to Agra during the year which witnessed the fall of Ahmadnagar and Asīrgarh, leaving his youngest son Dāniyāl as viceroy of the southern and western provinces. Khāndesh was renamed Dāndesh in compliment to the prince.

Akbar's unworthy sons. Prince Dāniyāl, a good-for-nothing drunken sot, was undeserving of the paternal favour, and died from the effects of drink a few months before his father passed away. The same vice had destroyed Prince Murād six years earlier. The eldest son, Prince Salīm, although equally intemperate, had a stronger constitution than his brothers, and survived to become the unworthy successor of Akbar.

Rebellion of Prince Salīm. Salīm, in accordance with many evil precedents, was eager to anticipate the course of nature and usurp his father's place. Akbar, well informed concerning his traitorous designs, endeavoured to keep him employed by commissions to hunt down rebels in Rājputāna and Bengal, but the prince would neither come to court nor proceed to execute the imperial orders. He continued to sulk and play the tyrant at Allahabad, and at last, in 1601, there assumed the imperial titles and took possession of the treasures of Bihār.

Murder of Abūl Fazl by order of Salīm. A little later, in August, 1602, Salīm inflicted a deadly wound on his father's feelings by causing a Bundela robber-chieftain to waylay and murder Shaikh Abūl Fazl, the guide, philosopher, and friend of the emperor. 'If Salīm,' said Akbar, 'wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abūl Fazl.' Ultimately, through the mediation of Sultan Salīmah Begam, widow of the regent, Bairām Khan, and subsequently one of Akbar's many consorts, a peace having been patched up, Salīm was induced to come to court.

Salīm nominated as successor. By this time, Akbar, much affected by the death of his youngest, and the ingratitude of his first-born son, and further weakened by indulgence in the dangerous consolations of opium, was failing visibly. Rājā Mān Singh and several other influential nobles, who dreaded the assumption of absolute power by Salīm, sought to set him aside and substitute his son Khusrū. But these schemes came to nought by reason of the dying emperor's clear intimation that he desired to be succeeded by his only surviving son.

Death of Akbar, 1605. In October, 1605, at Agra, when just sixty years of age, Akbar expired in the presence of his son and a crowd of frightened courtiers.[1] Before attempting to estimate the character of India's greatest sovereign since the time of Asoka, we must devote a few words to a consideration of his policy and innovations, and to the enumeration of the leading men among his chosen advisers and friends.

Principle of Akbar's conquests. The summary chronicle recorded in the foregoing pages, if it stood alone without comment, would naturally lead the reader to regard Akbar merely as a specially able king of the ordinary aggressive type. But, although no doubt he accepted the current opinion that a respectable monarch is bound to enlarge his dominions, Akbar the victorious kept before his mind a purpose higher than that of mere ambition. It is clearly apparent that at an early stage in his career he formed a plan for bringing all India under his sole government in such a way that all races, native and foreign, Hindus as well as Musalmans, might be brought to work together for the common good. He believed himself to be the Vicegerent of the Most High, and as such empowered to give India a better government than her own sons could provide.

Abolition of the jizya. As early as the ni

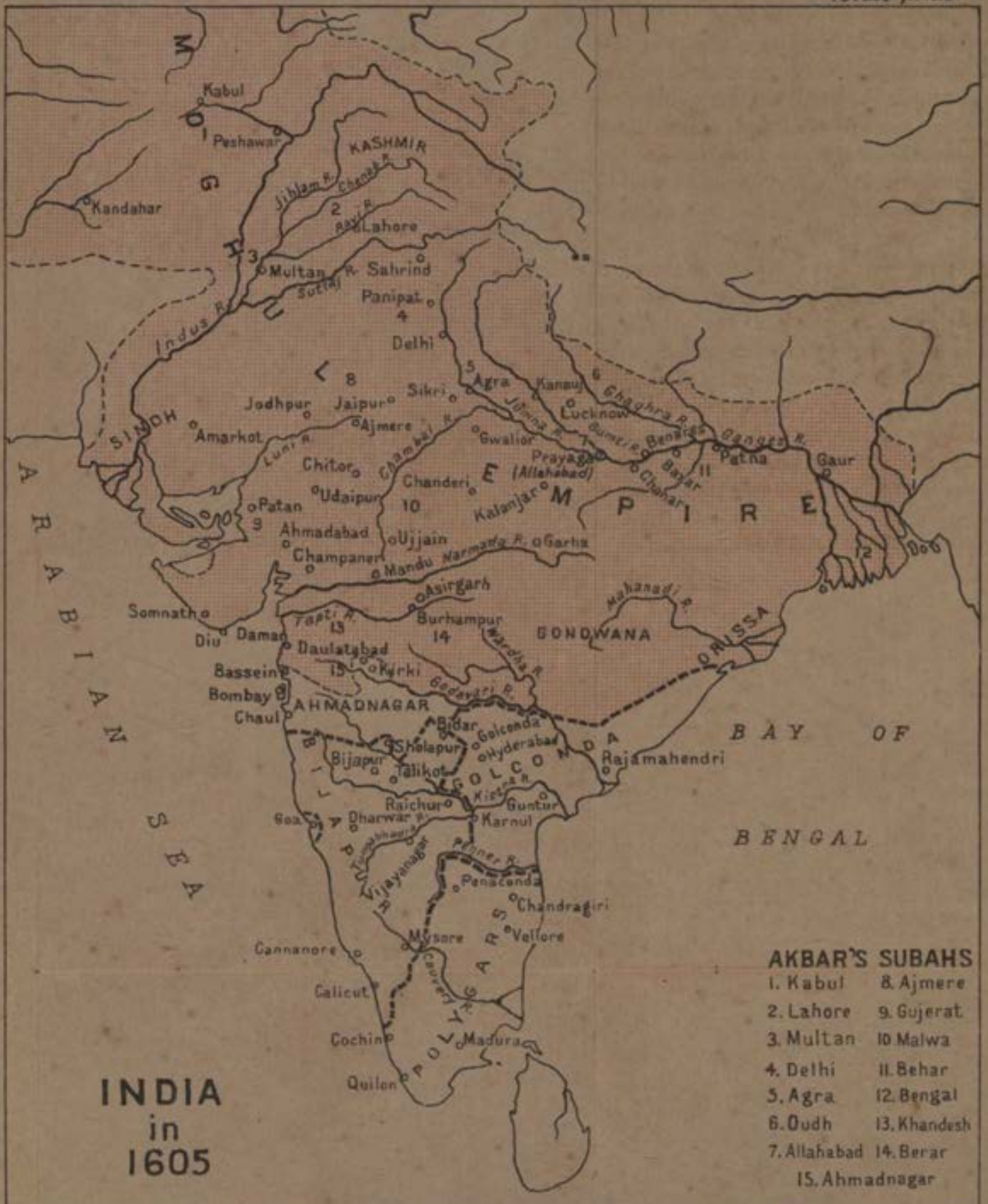
[1] Authorities differ concerning the exact d
has kindly examined them for me, finds tha
in favour of October 15, Old Style = October 25

his reign, when he was a young man twenty-two years of age, and long before he came under the influence of the freethinkers, Abūl Fazl and Faizī, Akbar abolished the *jizya*, or special poll-tax imposed on non-Muhammadans, which was intensely galling to the Hindus forming the great majority of the population. This measure alone, which was supplemented later by the abolition of the tax on pilgrimages, is enough to prove that Akbar in early youth realized that he, a foreigner, could not build up a stable empire without the aid of the indigenous civilization.

Marriages with Rājpūt princesses; Hindu friends. The royal marriages with Rājpūt princesses were arranged in pursuance of the same principle, and, except Mewār, all the leading states sent daughters to court. According to some authors the Emperor Jahāngīr was the son of a princess of Jaypur. Several of Akbar's most trusted officers and intimate friends were Hindus. Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Jaypur and Rājā Mān Singh of the same state fought valiantly by his side even against Rājpūts and were raised to the highest dignities. Mān Singh governed in succession the great provinces of Kābul and Bengal. Another dear Hindu friend of the emperor was a Brahman of Kālpī, named Gadāī Brahmandās,[1] known to history as Rājā Bīrbal, the reputed author of many wise and witty sayings still current, whom even Badāonī admits to have been 'possessed of a considerable amount of capacity and genius'. He lost his life in battle with the Yūsufzai tribesmen (*ante*, p. 123).

Rājā Todar Mall and land 'settlement'. Rājā Todar Mall, a Khatri from Oudh and a devout Hindu, who rendered good service as a general in the Khyber and Peshāwar country, is chiefly remembered for his revenue administration and [illegible] of land settlement, based on foundations laid by Sher [illegible] p. 90), and serving in its turn as the basis of the [illegible] in Upper India. He caused a detailed survey

[illegible] iven by Badāonī. Count von Noer calls him [illegible] other authority.



INDIA in 1605

E.V. Baxter, Oxford, 1905

of the land and elaborate calculations of the average produce and the government's share of the same to be made. The 'settlements', or contracts with the landholders, at first annual, were subsequently extended to a period of ten years.

Sūbas, sarkārs, &c. For administrative purposes the empire was divided into fifteen Sūbas, or local governments, namely, Agra, Ahmadabad, Ajmēr, Allahabad, Bengal (including Orissa), Bihār, Delhi, Kābul (including Kashmīr), Lahore, Mālwā, Multān (including Sind), and Oudh, with the addition of Ahmadnagar (*ante*, p. 125), Berār, and Khāndesh or Dāndesh late in the reign. The Sūbas were divided into more than a hundred Sarkārs, or provinces, subdivided into Parganas or Mahāls, which were grouped into Dastūrs or administrative districts. For example, the Sūba of Agra included 13 Sarkārs and 203 Parganas; the Sarkār of Agra, 1,864 square miles in area, comprising 31 Parganas, grouped in 4 Dastūrs. The Sūbadār, or Sipāh-sālār, the governor of a Sūba, was either a prince of the blood or other great noble, vested with practically unlimited powers, subject to the obligation of providing men and money for the needs of the empire.

Mansabdārs, &c. The officials, no clear distinction between civil and military being drawn, were called Mansabdārs, classified in thirty-three grades, regulated nominally by the number of horsemen supposed to be supplied by the officers. The grades ranged from commands of 10,000 to those of 10. The Mansabdārs drew pay in proportion to their rank, and in practice had not to furnish the number of men indicated by their grade. The highest grades were reserved for members of the imperial family. Many officials held grants of land or fiefs (*jāgīr*), subject to conditions of service. Free grants to men of reputed sanctity or learning were called Sayūrghāls.

Finance and army. The mainstay of the imperial treasury, as always in India, was the land revenue, or Crown rent, the State's share of the produce, paid in either kind or cash. The land revenue in 1600 amounted to about nineteen millions of pounds sterling, and the customs and miscellaneous taxes to

about as much again. Many taxes were remitted by Todar Mall.

The army was chiefly a cavalry militia raised by the Mansabdārs and Jāgīrdārs, who were much addicted to making false returns. Akbar tried to correct such abuses, but with only partial success. The standing, or permanently enrolled, army was small, 25,000 men in the latter part of the reign, of whom about half were troopers, the rest being gunners and infantry. The practice of enslaving prisoners of war was forbidden in 1573.

Āīn-i-Akbari and Abūl Fazl. The imperial regulations concerning the court and every department of the administration are recorded in detail in the unique work of Abūl Fazl entitled *Āīn-i-Akbari*, or 'Institutes of Akbar', which forms part of the *Akbarnāma* or 'History of the Reign of Akbar'. Shaikh Abūl Fazl, who was introduced to Akbar in 1574, was one of the most learned men of his age, and is still remembered as 'the great munshī'. He was the most influential of Akbar's councillors, and the emperor's gradual estrangement from Islam was largely due to his intimacy with Abūl Fazl and his equally learned and freethinking brother, Shaikh Faizī. The nature of Abūl Fazl's philosophy may be gathered from the following lines composed by him :—

'O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee! . . .
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love of Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.'

Akbar's religion; Dīn Ilāhī. Under the influence of such teaching and endless disputations between the doctors of various religions, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, and Zoroastrian, Akbar was led to reject the creed of Islam. In 1579 he compelled the leading *maulavis* to accept a decree declaring

the imperial ruling on any religious question to be binding, and thus, like Henry VIII of England, made himself Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith. Later, he went further and organized a new religion, the *Dīn Ilāhī* or Divine Faith. Disciples were required to acknowledge One God, with Akbar as his Vicegerent, and to profess readiness to sacrifice four things—life, property, honour, and religion—in the service of the emperor. This novel creed never obtained general acceptance, and died with its author. Towards the close of his life Akbar very nearly became a Hindu in practice, adopting many peculiar Hindu usages, such as shaving the beard, wearing the *tilak* on his forehead, and abstaining from beef.

Art and literature. Learned men and artists of all kinds, creeds, and nations received a warm welcome at the court of Akbar, who, although unable to read and write himself, acquired much learning by constantly having books read aloud to him. He enjoyed music, patronizing Tānsen and other masters of the art, and took great delight in painting. He formed a splendid library, and caused many Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. His taste in architecture is vouched for by the palace-city of Fathpur-Sikrī and many noble buildings.

Character of Akbar. Physically, Akbar was of moderate stature, inclined to be tall, with the long arms traditionally regarded as a mark of the ideal king, and strength and endurance beyond the common. His son credits him with 'a visage full of godly dignity'. In youth and early manhood his rank never hindered him from risking his life in fierce, personal combat, and when he waged war, he hit hard. But he did not seek war for its own sake, loving peace better. His affections were strong, and his children suffered from over-indulgence rather than from severity. His inclination was to forgiveness, and on many occasions he gave proof of his lenity to offenders. But at times his wrath blazed forth furiously, and at such times he did some stern, or even cruel deeds. He was quite free from the horrible love of cruelty for its own

sake, which rouses such disgust in the characters of his Mongol ancestors and his son Jahāngīr. His breadth of view, large-hearted tolerance, power of command, skill in the choice of advisers, and far-seeing statesmanship are abundantly vouched for by his history. We need not seek too curiously for spots in the sun, or dwell on the small weaknesses which occasionally blemished a noble character.

Chronology of Akbar's reign.

Death of Humāyun, accession of Akbar	Jan., 1556
Second battle of Pānīpat; defeat and death of Hīmū	Nov., 1556
Occupation of the Panjāb	1556
Assumption of full authority by Akbar	March, 1560
Abolition of the *jizya* tax	1565
Siege of Chitor	1567–8
Foundation of Fathpur-Sikrī	1569
Reduction of Gujarāt	1572
Capture of Surat; suppression of revolt in Gujarāt; completion of fort at Agra	1573
Introduction of Abūl Fazl at court; abolition of tax on pilgrimages	1574
Conquest of Bengal and Bihār; death of Dāūd	1574–5
Rājpūt rising; battle of Gogandah	1576
Decree making Akbar Head of the Church	1579
Death of Muhammad Hakīm; annexation of Kābul	1585
Akbar's capital at Lahore	1585–98
Defeat of Rājā Bīrbal by the Yūsufzai	1586
Conquest of Kashmīr	1586–7
Conquest of Sind	1588–90
Embassies to the kingdoms of the Deccan	1591
Annexation of Kandahar	1594
Defence of Ahmadnagar by Chand Bībī	1595
Death of Prince Murād	1599
Fall of Ahmadnagar	1600
Capture of Asīrgarh	1601
Rebellion of Prince Salīm; murder of Abūl Fazl	1602
Death of Akbar	Oct., 1605

CHAPTER XIX

The reigns of Jahāngīr and Shahjahān: Sir Thomas Roe; Bernier; Mughal architecture.

Accession of Jahāngīr; rebellion of Khusrū. Salīm, then in the thirty-seventh year of his age, ascended the throne without open opposition, taking the style of Jahāngīr, 'World-seizer.' Four months after his accession the intrigues begun during the preceding reign produced a rebellion in favour of his eldest son Khusrū, who occupied Lahore. The insurgents were defeated and punished with ruthless cruelty, and the prince was imprisoned.

Jahāngīr, although mentally and morally inferior to his father, was no fool, and was able to preserve intact without much exertion the empire which he had inherited. Early in his reign he visited Kābul, and some years later suppressed a rebellion in that province. The central Sūbas gave him little trouble, but from time to time armies had to be sent into Rājputāna, Bengal, and the Deccan, as well as to Kābul.

Wars in the Deccan and Mewār. In the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, taken by Akbar's forces in 1600 (*ante*, p. 125), had been recovered for the local dynasty by an Abyssinian minister named Malik Ambar. In Jahāngīr's time he was attacked several times by imperial armies, without decisive result, and the final annexation of Ahmadnagar was deferred until 1637. The State of Mewār in Rājputāna, under the rule of Amar Singh, son of Akbar's opponent, continued to be hostile, but in 1614 made a formal submission on honourable terms to Prince Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Shahjahān.

The Empress Nūrjahān. The exceptional deference paid by Jahāngīr to his favourite consort, Nūrjahān or Nurmahāl, gives political importance to his marriage with that lady in 1610. In fact, during the rest of the emperor's life the government was in her hands rather than his. 'Nūrjahān,' he said, 'is wise enough to conduct the affairs of state; I want

only a bottle of wine and a piece of meat wherewith to make merry.' She was aided by the counsel of her able brother Āsaf Khan. Nūrjahān, who was of Persian origin, attracted Prince Salīm's notice when she visited the harem of Akbar with her mother. But Akbar refused to allow the prince to marry her, and gave her to an officer named Sher Afkan, who was posted to Bengal. He was killed in 1607, and three years later Salīm, now emperor, married the widow. There is no good evidence that he was concerned in the husband's death. Nūrjahān survived until 1645, when she died, and was buried at Lahore by the side of Jahāngīr.

Intrigues; rebellion of Prince Khurram. The empress sought to secure her position at court by marrying to Prince Khurram, third son of the emperor, her brother's daughter, the famous Mumtāz Mahall, 'the Lady of the Tāj,' and by uniting her own daughter by her first husband to Shahriyār, the youngest son of Jahāngīr. At first she favoured Prince Khurram, but when the Deccan wars enhanced his reputation, she grew jealous and transferred her support to Prince Shahriyār. Her intrigues on his behalf drove the elder brother into rebellion. He was defeated by Mohābat Khan, his father's general, and compelled to flee, first to Masulipatam on the east coast, and thence to Bengal. In 1625 he was reconciled with his father, who conferred on him the title of Shahjahān, 'King of the world.'

Rebellion of Mohābat Khan. In course of time, Mohābat Khan in his turn became the object of the jealousy of the empress, and was forced to rebel in self-defence. In the year 1626, when Jahāngīr was on his way to Kābul, the insurgent general cleverly secured the trump card in the game of intrigue by seizing the emperor's person, and in the next year Nurjahān, with equal cleverness, enabled him to regain his freedom.

Sir Thomas Roe. Sir Thomas Roe, the dignified ambassador of James I of England (*ante*, p. 113), was admitted to close intimacy with the drunken monarch to whom he was accredited,

and had to do his best to take his share in the frequent midnight orgies. He has left on record a lively description of Jahāngīr and his court. Another Englishman, William Hawkins, who visited Agra a few years earlier, was much disgusted by the bloodthirsty cruelty of the emperor.

Death of Jahāngīr, 1627. Jahāngīr habitually spent the hot season in Kashmīr. In October, 1627, when returning thence, he was taken ill and died suddenly, after a reign of twenty-two years. His remains lie in a fine mausoleum at Lahore, which city was usually treated as his capital.

Character of Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr has been described as 'a talented drunkard'. In his youth he had been spoiled, and he grew up to be a wilful, cruel man, easy-going and good-natured when not thwarted, but a ferocious savage when angered. His own words describing the penalties inflicted on the adherents of his rebellious son best depict the cruelty of the man. On Thursday, April 23, 1606, he writes in his *Memoirs*:

'I entered the castle of Lahore, and took my seat in the royal pavilion built by my father, from which he used to view the combats of elephants; and I directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, upon which thrones of misfortune and despair I caused the 300 (*v. l.* 700) traitors who had conspired with Khusrū to be impaled alive. Than this there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment, for the culprits die in lingering torture. Let the reflecting man take warning by this and be deterred by the thousand punishments which cannot exceed those which I have described from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors.'

In religious matters Jahāngīr personally was indifferent, but found it convenient to pose as an orthodox Musalman.

Disputed succession; accession of Shahjahān. Jahāngīr's eldest son had been quietly removed some years before, and Parvīz, the second, had died a natural death, so that only Shahjahān and Shahriyār remained. The latter attempted to assert his claims, and certain nobles set up for two months Dāwar Baksh or Bulākī, Khusrū's son, but both aspirants were

easily disposed of. Two boys, sons of Akbar's youngest son Dāniyāl, who professed Christianity, were executed. Shahjahān, having thus cleared away all possible rivals, formally assumed the government in February, 1628.

An uneventful reign. His reign offers few incidents, and may be described as a period of peaceful prosperity. European and Muhammadan writers agree that his government was paternal and that justice, on the whole, was fairly administered. But this evidence must be qualified by the admission that men of high rank were free to commit acts of atrocious cruelty and oppression, some of which are on record. The court of Shahjahān was organized on a scale of unexampled magnificence, and the display of jewels was almost beyond belief. The celebrated 'peacock throne' was valued at a thousand and seventy lakhs of rupees.

Ahmadnagar; Kandahar. War in the Deccan lasted for seven years (1630–7), ending in the final annexation of Ahmadnagar and the submission of the kings of Golkonda and Bijāpur, who agreed to pay tribute. Kandahar, which had been taken by the Persians in 1622, was recovered in the year of the fall of Ahmadnagar (1637), but twelve years later, in Aurangzeb's reign, was permanently separated from the Indian empire.

The four sons of Shahjahān. Shahjahān had four sons, Dārā Shikoh[1], Shujā, Aurangzeb, and Murād Baksh. In 1657, when the emperor became seriously ill, these four sons, all men of mature age, prepared to contest the succession to the throne. Their father had attempted to secure the succession for the eldest by keeping him at Agra and appointing his brothers to distant governments, but the device failed, and each claimant, ignoring the sovereign's will, gathered his forces and made ready for battle. Each had, as Bernier, the French traveller observed, 'no choice between a kingdom and death.'

[1] The title means 'equal in splendour to Darius'. The common practice of citing the prince's name as Dārā (Darius), although convenient, is inaccurate. His personal name was Muhammad. The forms Shikoh and Shukoh are both in use.

The contest for the crown. Shujā in Bengal and Murād Baksh in Gujarāt each assumed imperial titles and struck coin in his own name. The cautious and wily Aurangzeb did nothing of the kind. The army of Dārā Shikoh, which had speedily put Shujā to flight, now had a more serious task to face in confronting Aurangzeb. He moved northwards in the spring of 1658, dexterously representing himself as being merely desirous to help Murād Baksh, with whose levies he united his own. A fiercely contested battle between Aurangzeb and Murād Baksh on one side and Dārā Shikoh on the other, fought at Samūgarh, nine miles from Agra, ended in the decisive victory of the younger princes.

Shahjahān confined; Murād Baksh captured. In June, 1658, Aurangzeb, who had a friend at court in the person of his sister, Roshanārā, made his father prisoner, confining him to the precincts of the palace, where he had the society of his other daughter, Jahānāra. Next month the hapless Murād Baksh learned the true value of his brother's professions of unselfish support. No difficulty was found in making the young prince hopelessly drunk, and throwing him into chains to await execution at a more convenient time.

Fate of Dārā Shikoh and Shujā. The pursuit of Dārā Shikoh was continued with unceasing vigour, and at last he was run down in Cutch (Kacchh), brought to Delhi, and paraded through the streets, dressed in the meanest clothes, and mounted on a scarecrow elephant. In September he was beheaded, on the pretext that he had become an apostate from Islām and the ally of infidels. It is true that Dārā Shikoh shared his great-grandfather's scepticism, but, of course, his execution was due to his position as claimant of the throne. Shujā made one more effort in Bengal, and was even able to occupy Benares, Allahabad, and Jaunpur. But he was overcome by Aurangzeb's able lieutenant, Mīr Jumla, and ultimately driven into Arakan, where, according to some accounts, he was last seen fleeing over the mountains, accompanied by three faithful men and one woman. He was never heard of again.

Accession of Aurangzeb; death of his father. Aurangzeb, who had been informally proclaimed emperor in July, 1658, was now able to assume the imperial position with full ceremony in May, 1659. His old father, although never permitted to quit the palace enclosure, was allowed every luxury that he cared for, including plenty of dancing-girls, and lived a life of voluptuous ease until near the close of 1666, when he died at the age of seventy-six. He was buried in the Tāj, the superb monument which he had erected to the memory of his favourite consort.

Mumtāz Mahall; sensuality of Shahjahān. That lady, known by the title of Mumtāz Mahall (of which 'Tāj' is a corruption), was the niece of Nūrjahān, the able empress of Jahāngīr. She was the mother of all Shahjahān's children, fourteen in number, and during her lifetime was the object of his devoted affection. But after she was gone he allowed himself in his old age to indulge in unseemly pleasures, and lost all capacity for serious business.

Mughal architecture. The masterpieces of Mughal architecture belong by universal consent to the reign of Shahjahān, in connexion with whom the subject is best considered. The beautiful domed architecture of the Mughal period is not a product of India. It is essentially foreign, that is to say, Persian, in style. But the earlier specimens were considerably affected in details by the employment of Hindu artisans, and the later examples are much enriched by the use of the Florentine style of inlay (*pietra dura*) apparently imported from Italy by European artists in the service of Shahjahān.[1]

Early Mughal buildings. Bābar and Humāyun, who possessed excellent taste, are recorded to have erected many splendid edifices, but all these seem to have perished. Akbar loved building, and one of the finest examples of the early Mughal style is the massive mausoleum or tomb near Delhi, erected by him in honour of his father. While the general

[1] Mr. Marshall thinks that the Mughal *pietra dura* work may have originated independently in India, which seems very unlikely.

design resembles that of the Tāj, the earlier building is far more simple and severe than the great edifice of Shahjahān. The magnificent buildings of Fathpur-Sikrī, begun in 1569, are universally admired. The mausoleum of Akbar, at Sikandra near Agra, planned and erected under the orders of Jahāngīr, is unique in design. The other works of Jahāngīr's time are chiefly at Lāhore.

Works of Shahjahān. Everybody is agreed that the crowning glory of Mughal architecture is the mausoleum of Mumtāz Mahall at Agra, commonly known as the Tāj, which occupied 20,000 workmen incessantly for twenty-two years. New Delhi, or Shahjahānabad, was built under the direction of Shahjahān, whose palace there, when perfect, probably was the most magnificent edifice of its kind in the world. During recent years, especially under Lord Curzon's orders, much has been done to preserve and restore the numerous Mughal buildings at Agra, Delhi, and elsewhere. The Indo-Persian paintings of Shahjahān's time are very fine.

CHAPTER XX

The reign of Aurangzeb: his treatment of the Hindus; the Rājpūt revolt; Sivājī and the rise of the Marāthās.

Aurangzeb at the time of his accession. In May, 1659, when Aurangzeb assumed the full honours of the imperial dignity under the title of Ālamgīr, conferred by his father, he was forty years of age, mature in body and mind, well skilled in affairs, both civil and military, and dominated by a theory concerning the duties of kingship which no change of circumstances could modify. The history of his long reign, extending like Akbar's over a period of fifty years save one, may be condensed as being that of the failure of an attempt to govern a vast empire, inhabited chiefly by Hindus, on the principles of an ascetic Muslim saint.

Aurangzeb's principles of government. Aurangzeb never flinched from the practical action logically resulting from his theory, that it was his duty as a faithful Muslim king to foster

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the interests of orthodox Sunnī Islam, to suppress idolatry, and, as far as possible, to discourage and disown all idolaters, heretics (including Shīah Muhammadans) and infidels. He could not do all he would, but he did all he could to carry his principles into effect. No fear of unpopularity, no consideration of political opportunism, no dread of resistance, was suffered to turn him for a moment from his religious duty as he conceived it. The Emperor Aurangzeb was a man of high intellectual powers, a brilliant writer, as his letters prove, an astute diplomatist, a soldier of undaunted courage, a skilled administrator, a just and merciful judge, a pious ascetic in his personal habits, and yet a failure.

Palliation of his fight for the throne. He crossed a river of blood to gain the throne. The best defence that can be offered for the crimes by which he won it, is that indicated in his letter reproaching his old tutor:

'Ought you not,' he writes, 'to have foreseen that I might at some future period be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindustan.'

That defence, as far as it goes, is sound. If any one of his brothers had gained the prize, Aurangzeb would have suffered death, and he can hardly be blamed because he preferred to inflict, rather than suffer, death. The deposition of his father was a necessary consequence of the defeat of Dārā Shikoh, who had already assumed the imperial authority with the assent of the aged emperor, who was then no longer fit to rule. Once the deposition had been effected, Aurangzeb gave his father everything that he wanted, except liberty. The brutal treatment of Dārā Shikoh, which cannot be justified, is explained by Aurangzeb's intense hatred for all forms of religious heresy. His eldest brother, an avowed freethinker, was to him a thing accursed, and a fit object for extremest insult. Aurangzeb regarded the world from the point of view of a Muslim ascetic, and as against the rights of orthodoxy the claims of kindred or

of justice to Hindu unbelievers were nothing in his eyes. He took up the position of Philip II of Spain in relation to the people of the Netherlands. Like that monarch he was intensely suspicious, trusting neither man nor woman. His love, although perhaps sometimes given, was seldom, if ever, sought or returned.

Mīr Jumla's attack on Assam. The only wars, other than that of the succession, which claim notice are those with Assam and Arakan. Mīr Jumla, the able general, who had done such good service for Aurangzeb when he was viceroy of the Deccan, and again in hunting down Shujā, was rash enough to follow in the footsteps of Muhammad the son of Bakhtyār (*ante*, p. 75) and to invade Assam. Mīr Jumla failed like his early predecessor, and, like him, died soon after returning in 1663.

Annexation of part of Arakan by Shāyista Khan. In the course of the same year, Aurangzeb's uncle, Shāyista Khan, who had allowed himself to be surprised by the Marāthās in the Deccan, was transferred to Bengal as the successor of Mīr Jumla. He governed the eastern province for more than thirty years, until 1694, when he died, aged ninety-three. His expulsion of the English merchants from his territory in 1686 has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 114). At an earlier date (1666) he had cleared out the Portuguese and other pirates who infested the rivers in the neighbourhood of Chittagong, and sent an expedition against the king of Arakan, who had abetted the evil-doers, and was compelled to cede the Chittagong territory.

Twenty years' peace. 'The expeditions into Assam and Arakan did not disturb the general peace of Hindustan. A profound tranquillity, broken by no rebellion of any political importance, reigned throughout northern India for the first twenty years of Aurangzeb's rule.' It is true that for nearly three years (1673–5) the Afghan clans beyond the Indus gave trouble, and during part of that time Aurangzeb in person superintended the operations of his generals, but the peace of India, as a whole, was not disturbed by skirmishing on the north-western frontier.

Attack on Hinduism. Much more important than frontier fighting was the change in the emperor's internal policy which began in 1669. Before that date he had not felt himself at liberty to carry out fully his theory of government, but now he deemed his position sufficiently assured to justify an attack on his idolatrous subjects. He went so far as to order 'the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship'. Of course such orders could not be carried out completely, but the lofty minarets of the mosque on the bank of the Ganges at Benares, occupying the site of a famous temple, bear witness to their partial execution.

The jizya reimposed. Aurangzeb never became a sanguinary persecutor. No massacres stain the annals of his reign. He was content to worry the Hindus, insult their religion, and make compulsory converts. In pursuance of this perverse policy he reimposed (1677) the *jizya*, or poll-tax on unbelievers, which had been abolished by Akbar (*ante*, p. 127), and made an attempt to seize the children of the deceased Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwār, apparently with the intention of bringing them up as Muslims.

Rājpūt rebellion. This outrage kindled a flame in Rājputāna, and produced a serious rebellion in which both Mārwār and Mewār joined, although Jaypur (Amber) still remained loyal. Prince Akbar, the emperor's fourth son, who had been sent against the rebels, allowed himself to dream a dream of empire supported by Rājpūt swords, and went over to the enemy. But his father's diplomacy was too much for him—the levies melted away, and the young prince was ultimately driven into exile in Persia, from which he never returned (1681).

Alienation of the Rājpūts. After some time the Rānā of Mewār (Udaypur) made an honourable peace, by a treaty which contained no allusion to the odious *jizya*, and Rājā Jaswant Singh's son was recognized as chieftain of Mārwār. The

mischief, however, had been done, and Aurangzeb had wantonly thrown away his most trusty weapon, the devotion of the Rājpūt chivalry. During the following struggle in the Deccan he learned the extent of his loss, but never repented of his action or swerved a hair's breadth from his principles. Notwithstanding the treaty Rājputāna was not pacified, and the greater part of the country continued in revolt until the end of the reign.

Prohibition of histories. A curious decree of the eleventh year of the reign abolished the office of imperial chronicler and forbade the publication of histories by private persons. This prohibition has caused a certain amount of indistinctness in detail and obscurity in the chronology of the greater part of Aurangzeb's long reign. Such histories as were written secretly had to wait for publication until the emperor's death.

Aurangzeb and the Deccan. In 1656, when called away to take his part in the fight for the throne, Prince Aurangzeb, then viceroy of the Deccan, that is to say of Khāndesh, Berār, Telingāna, and Ahmadnagar, seemed to be on the point of annexing the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijāpur and bringing the whole of the Deccan under the rule of his father. Many years elapsed before Aurangzeb as emperor was able to return to the scene of his early labours. Meantime a new power had arisen, which, rashly despised at first, became strong enough to baffle all the efforts of the imperial grand army, and to condemn the aged emperor to long-drawn years of fruitless toil, ending in lonely death, 'without heart or help.'

The new-born Marāthā power. Before taking up the story of Aurangzeb's campaigns in the Deccan during the twenty-six years from the close of 1681 to 1707, we must go back to trace the origin of the new-born Marāthā power and sketch the life of Sivājī, who gave it birth. The Marāthās are the Hindu population of Mahārāshtra, the country of the Western Ghāts, lying to the south of the Satpura hills, to the west of the Warda river, and extending southwards as far as Goa. In the thirteenth century this region had been the

centre of the Yādava power (*ante*, p. 80). Its best-known towns are Poona, Satārā, Kolhapur, and Nāsik.

Description of the Marāthās. The Marāthā people are well described by Elphinstone, who knew them intimately.

'They are,' he writes, 'small, sturdy men, well-made, though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rājpūts, they have none of their indolence or their want of worldly wisdom. A Rājpūt warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Marāthā thinks of nothing but the result, and cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his interest, for a point of honour.'

To this description of the ordinary low-caste Marāthā may be added the remark that the Brahmans of Mahārāshtra are characterized by extreme subtlety and intellectual power, qualities not always devoted in these latter times to the service of the British Government.

Early life of Sivājī. Sivājī, 'the mountain rat,' who frustrated the imperial plans for the subjugation of the south, was the son of Shāhjī, who in early life had served the king of Ahmadnagar, and afterwards became governor of Poona, under the king of Bijāpur. While still a lad of nineteen (1646) Sivājī began a career as a brigand chieftain, and seized several hill forts in succession. Between 1649 and 1659 he made himself master of a large tract of country to the south of Poona.

Murder of Afzal Khan. In the year 1659 the king of Bijāpur sent an army against him under the command of Afzal Khan. The Marāthā chief, feigning submission, managed to approach the general and to kill him by a treacherous blow with a concealed weapon, known as a 'tiger's claw'. Three years later Bijāpur made peace, leaving Sivājī in possession of the territory which he had acquired.

Shāyista Khan. The Marāthā now ventured to ravage the

Mughal territories, and thus provoked Aurangzeb to send his uncle, Shāyista Khan, to suppress him. But the Mughal commander, having allowed himself to be surprised, was transferred to Bengal, as already narrated (*ante*, p. 142).

Aurangzeb's mistake. Other generals, including Prince Muazzam, were now sent against the rebel, and ultimately (1665) Rājā Jaswant Singh of Jaypur forced Sivājī to submit, and even to come to Delhi to do homage. Aurangzeb made the mistake of treating his opponent with disrespect, and so incurring his undying enmity. Sivājī escaped secretly from the court, returned to the Deccan, and in 1667 compelled the Mughal commanders in practice to recognize him as Rājā.

Renewed war; death of Sivājī, 1680. The war was soon renewed, and the Marāthā freely plundered the imperial territories, including the rich town of Surat, but excepting the English factory there. In 1674 Sivājī proclaimed himself sovereign of his territories with royal pomp at his capital of Rāigarh. He then crossed the Narbadā, and levied the *chauth*, or fourth part of the land revenue, a species of blackmail, payment of which was supposed to protect a district from plunder. In the south, where his father and brother had held *jāgīrs*, he occupied the fortresses of Vellore and Jinjī (Gingee), and was granted additional territory by the king of Bijāpur, in payment for help against the Mughals. In 1680 he died at the age of fifty-three, leaving behind him a great reputation as the champion of Hinduism, the creator of a nation, and the founder of a powerful kingdom.

Sivājī's civil and military administration. Sivājī's army was chiefly a well-paid force of irregular cavalry, systematically organized, not a mere militia levy. He also possessed a considerable fleet capable of carrying four thousand soldiers. His dominions were governed on Hindu principles, through the agency of the village headmen (*patels*), controlled by Desādhikārs, Talukdārs, and Sūbadārs. The supreme authority under the Rājā was a council of eight members. Justice was administered by *panchāyats* in accordance with Hindu law. His

government, civil and military, was far superior to that of the Peshwās in the eighteenth century, and he is honourably remembered for his strictness in protecting the women and children of his enemies.

Aurangzeb assumes command in the Deccan. At the close of 1681, a year after Sivājī's death, Aurangzeb in person took command of the army of the Deccan, resolved to extinguish the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijāpur, to curb the insolence of the Marāthās, and, if possible, to bring the whole south under Mughal rule.

His treatment of the Hindus. The emperor's obstinate adherence to his wrong-headed policy of annoying his Hindu subjects added immensely to the inherent difficulties of his task. The first thing he did was to issue stringent orders for the collection of the arrears of the *jizya* tax in the southern provinces, and in three months he compelled his officers to squeeze 26,000 rupees out of Burhānpur. Insult was added to pecuniary injury by a proclamation that no Hindu should ride in a palankin or on an Arab horse without special licence. Such measures, of course, made the entire Hindu population the friends of his foes, but no consideration of prudence sufficed to turn Aurangzeb from his fixed policy.

The affairs of Golkonda. When he returned to the Deccan he found the government of Golkonda in confusion. The king, Abūl Hasan, had abandoned himself to pleasure and ceased to take any part in public affairs, which were controlled by the representative of the emperor at his court and by two Hindu officials. Aurangzeb, who could not endure Hindu influence, sent his son, Prince Muazzam, to restore order. The prince dallied over his task, but at last attacked the city of Hyderabad, which he permitted his soldiers to plunder. The king took refuge in the adjoining fortress of Golkonda. In 1685 the prince, having made peace on terms displeasing to his father, was recalled.

Annexation of Bijāpur, 1686. The emperor, leaving Golkonda alone for the moment, deputed another son, Prince

Azam, to reduce Bijāpur. He had little success, and was superseded by his father, who took the capital in 1686 after an investment lasting more than a year. The kingdom ceased to exist, and the splendid city became the abode of desolation, as it is for the most part to this day.

Siege and annexation of Golkonda. Aurangzeb then resolved to make an end of the sister state of Golkonda, and to depose the king, who was accused of sending money to the Marāthās, and allying himself with infidels. When Abūl Hasan perceived that his destruction was decided on, he is said to have become a changed man, to have cast aside his evil habits and played the part of a hero. Certainly the city was put in a good state of defence, and when the siege began early in 1687, the imperial troops found that they had been set a hard task. The Marāthās cut off the supplies of the besiegers, who were reduced to extremities by famine and plague. An assault ordered by the emperor failed utterly, and it seemed as if the siege must be raised. But a traitor admitted the Mughal army, and Golkonda fell (Sept., 1687). By these conquests the boundaries of the Mughal dominion were extended as far as Tanjore, and the empire attained its greatest extent.

Struggle with the Marāthās. The two Muhammadan kingdoms had been destroyed, but the Marāthās remained unsubdued, and the remaining twenty years of Aurangzeb's life were spent in the vain attempt to subdue them. The emperor never returned to the north, and wasted those weary years gaining 'a long series of petty victories followed by larger losses'. His armies seemed to be getting the upper hand between 1698 and 1701, but in the succeeding years the enemy recovered the lost ground.

Marāthā method of warfare. The Marāthās never, or hardly ever, risked a general engagement, expending all their energies, like the Boers in the late South African war, in cutting off supplies, intercepting convoys, and incessantly harassing the enemy. Mounted on hardy ponies, they were able to move with a quickness which completely baffled the

imperial armies; and, as each man carried with him his simple food and belongings, they needed no transport trains.

Inefficiency of the Mughal army. The Mughal forces, on the other hand, were unwieldy and almost immovable. The royal tents alone occupied a space three miles in circuit, and a contemporary traveller describes the whole camp as being 'a moving city containing five million souls'. The officers were corrupted by luxury and incapable of active effort.

Execution of Sambhājī; Rājā Shāhu. For a time the emperor's arms had a promise of success, and Aurangzeb had the poor satisfaction of putting to death with torture Sambhājī, a son of Sivājī, in 1689. He spared the life of Sivājī junior, nicknamed Shāhu (Sāhu), the infant son of Sambhājī, and kept him in custody until his own death, when the young man was released and returned to his own dominions.

Tārā Bāī. A few years after Sambhājī's execution, Tārā Bāī, widow of Rājā Rāma, another son of Sivājī, retrieved the Marāthā losses, and directed the policy of devastating the imperial territories with such energy that the emperor was shut up in his camp, and his treasure was plundered almost under his eyes.

Retreat and death of Aurangzeb. The Mughal army crumbled to pieces, general famines and pestilences occurred more than once, and ultimately (1706) Aurangzeb was forced to retire on Ahmadnagar, where he died at the beginning of March, 1707, in the fiftieth year of his reign and the eighty-ninth of his life. His dust lies under a plain tomb in the village of Khuldabad, near Aurangabad.

The Peshwās. Tārā Bāī was the last notable member of Sivājī's line. Shāhu, the nominal head of the Marāthā state for more than forty years (1707–48), was a nonentity, and all real power was exercised by his ministers, the Brahman Peshwās. The first three Peshwās, all able men, were:—

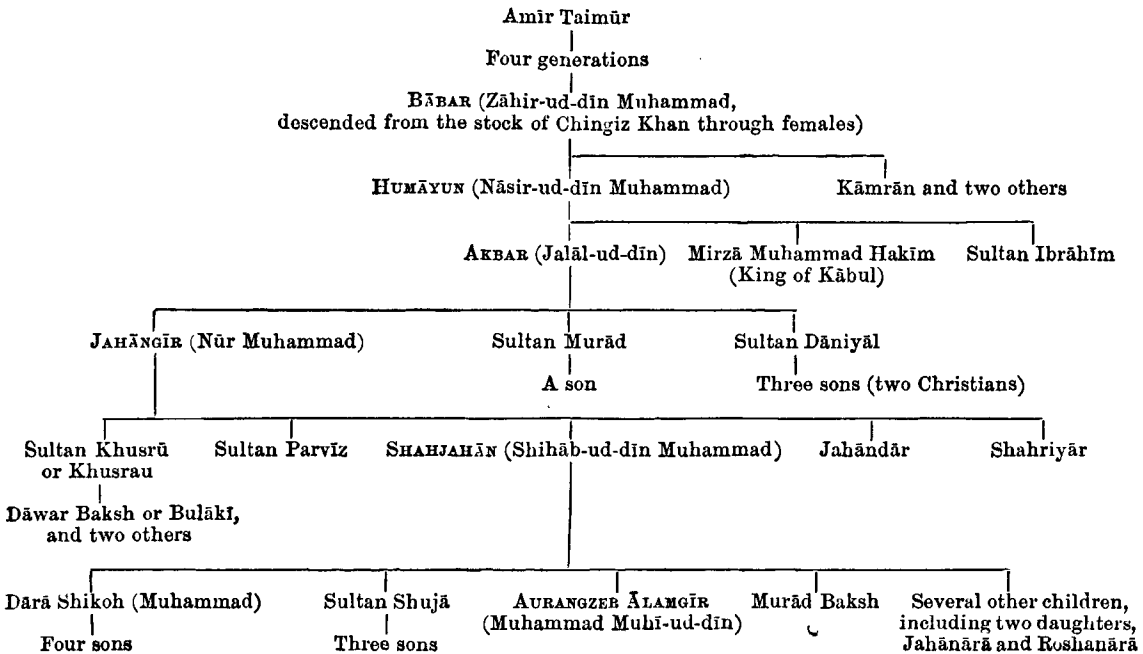
(1) Bālājī Visvanāth (1707–20).
(2) Bājī Rāo I (1720–40).
(3) Bālājī Rāo (1740–61).

In the next chapter we shall see how they won and lost the empire of Hindustan.

Chronology of Aurangzeb's reign.

Deposition of Shahjahān and informal accession	July, 1658
Formal installation of Aurangzeb	May, 1659
Charter granted by Charles II to the E. I. Company; Bombay ceded by the Portuguese to the English	1661
Mīr Jumla's attack on Assam	1662–3
Shāyista Khan surprised by the Marāthās	1663
Foundation of the French *Compagnie des Indes*	1664
Death of Shahjahān; annexation of part of Arakan by Shāyista Khan	1666
Prohibition of public idolatrous worship	1669
Sivājī formally proclaimed as sovereign	1674
Revival of the *jizya*	1677
Death of Sivājī	1680
Rebellion of the Rājpūts and Prince Akbar	1680–1
Assumption of command in the Deccan by Aurangzeb	1681–2
Annexation of Bijāpur; expulsion of the English from Bengal by Shāyista Khan	1686
Annexation of Golkonda; greatest extension of the Mughal empire	1687
Execution of Sambhājī, son of Sivājī	1689
Foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock	1690
United East India Company	1702–8
Retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmadnagar	1706
Death of Aurangzeb	1707

GENEALOGY OF THE 'GREAT MOGULS' (PRINCIPAL NAMES).



CHAPTER XXI

The successors of Aurangzeb: Bahādur Shah, &c.; Muhammad Shah; invasion of Nādir Shah; growth of Marāthā power; Ahmad Shah Durrāni; the third battle of Pānīpat.

War of succession. Aurangzeb left behind him four sons, the princes Muazzam, Azam, Akbar (*ante*, p. 143), and Kāmbaksh. Akbar, the rebel exile, no longer counted; the three others were all equally eligible candidates for the vacant throne. A document in the nature of a will found under the pillow of the dead emperor suggested a division of the empire between these three sons, but none of them had the slightest intention of being content with anything less than the whole. The eldest, Prince Muazzam, had himself proclaimed at Kābul, while his brother, Prince Azam, assumed the imperial dignity in the Deccan camp. Both of these claimants assembled large armies, which met to the south of Agra in June, 1707. The battle ended in the total defeat of Prince Azam, who was killed, along with two adult sons. In February, 1708, Prince Kāmbaksh was defeated in the Deccan, and died from his wounds. Thus Prince Muazzam became undisputed Padshah. He is known to history as either Bahādur Shah (I) or Shah Ālam (I).

Reign of Bahādur Shah (I). He conciliated the Marāthās by the release of their Rājā, Shāhu (*ante*, p. 149), and patched up a peace with the Rājpūts. The most important event of his short reign was a severe conflict with the Sikh sectaries of the Panjāb, and it will be convenient to notice briefly in this place the origin and early stages in the development of the Sikh power.

Origin and rise of the Sikhs. The Sikhs, or 'disciples', form one of the many reformed sects of Hinduism which have arisen from time to time. The teaching of Nānak, the first *guru* of the sect, late in the fifteenth century, which was based on that of Kabīr (*ante*, p. 100), did not attract much official

attention until the beginning of the seventeenth century in Jahāngīr's reign, when the *guru* of the day was put to death. This act of persecution roused the zeal of the martyr's adherents, who took up arms under the leadership of his son Har Gobind and became the declared enemies of the government.

Sikh organization. Guru Gobind Singh (1675–1708), grandson of Har Gobind, converted the sect into a political power by means of an organization (known as the Khālsā) and rule of life which sharply separated the Sikhs from the rest of the population and united them closely among themselves. The disciples were forbidden to use tobacco in any form, and were required to wear their hair long, and to practise sundry other special observances. The fact that most of the Sikhs were Jats by caste supplied another bond of union, and the result was that during the eighteenth century the sect gradually became a nation. But, although the Jats have furnished the majority of Sikh converts, it must be clearly understood that people of all castes may be initiated as Sikhs, and that within the sect no distinction of caste is recognized.

Ravages of Banda, the Sikh leader. When Bahādur Shah died at Lahore in February, 1712, he was engaged in endeavours to check the barbarous ravages committed by the Sikhs at Sahrind and other places in the Panjāb, under the leadership of Banda, the successor of Guru Gobind Singh.

War of succession; Jahāndār Shah; Farrukhsīyar. The death of the emperor was followed by the usual war between his sons. The most competent claimant, Azīm-ush-shān, governor of Bengal, had the ill-luck to be killed in battle, as also was a third son. The survivor, Jahāndār Shah, a worthless debauchee of low tastes, was proclaimed emperor by Zulfikār Khan, a powerful noble, who became Vazīr (1712). After a few months Jahāndār Shah was put out of the way, and Farrukhsīyar, son of Azīm-ush-shān, was placed on the throne (January, 1713) by the influence of two Sayyids of Bārha. For some years this clan of Sayyids enjoyed the position of king-makers, and appointed whom they chose to occupy the seat of

Aurangzeb. The imperial dignity was quickly becoming an empty although dangerous honour.

Defeat of the Sikhs. The principal event in Farrukhsīyar's reign was the crushing defeat of the Sikhs, whose leader Banda was captured and executed with the most inhuman tortures. Allusion has been made above (*ante*, p. 115) to the important trading privileges gained for the English merchants by the surgeon Hamilton, who attended Farrukhsīyar. The emperor, who was not personally of any importance, was murdered early in 1719.

Accession of Muhammad Shah; break up of the empire. Several nonentities having been set up, who lasted only a few months,[1] the Sayyids selected another insignificant prince, who ascended the throne as Muhammad Shah, in October, 1719. During his reign, which was long, and continued until 1748, the empire began to break to pieces. The emperor of Delhi was gradually reduced to a position like that of the later members of the Tughlak dynasty (*ante*, p. 85), while the outlying powers, Hindu, Muhammadan, and foreign, came to the front, with the ultimate result that the sceptre passed into English hands.

Independence of the Deccan; the Nizām.—A Turki noble, named Chīn Kilich Khan, generally known by his title of Āsaf Jāh, the son of a favourite officer of Aurangzeb, had become viceroy of the Deccan. For a time he held the office of Vazīr at Delhi, but in 1723 he retired from court, and after that date may be regarded as an independent sovereign. He was the ancestor of the present Nizām of Hyderabad. Before the withdrawal of Āsaf Jāh to the south, the king-making Sayyids had lost their power through the death of Husain Ali and the imprisonment of his brother, who were the heads of the clan.

[1] Rafī-ud-darajāt, Rafī-ud-daulat (Shahjahān II), Nikūsiyar, Ibrāhīm. The 'reigns' of the first three fall between February 18 and August 27, 1719. Ibrāhīm claimed the throne in 1720, from October 1 to November 8, and struck coins, now very rare.

Practical independence of Oudh; Saādat Ali Khan. About this time, Saādat Ali Khan, governor of Oudh, likewise made himself practically independent and founded the line of the Nawāb-Vazīrs, who were recognized later as kings of Oudh.

Bengal; Alivardi Khan. The Sūba of Bengal, including Bihār and Orissa, although nominally under the control of the emperor, was really as little subject to his authority as the Afghan kings of Bengal had been before the time of Akbar. Alivardi Khan, the Sūbadār from 1739 to 1756, an able despot, ceased to pay tribute to the imperial court.

The Rohillas; general revolt of provinces. To the north of the Ganges, the Rohillas, a clan of Afghan immigrants, made themselves masters of the rich tract now called Rohilkhand. In short, everywhere a general revolt of the provinces began in the reign of Muhammad Shah, and was completed in the time of his successors.

Growth of Marāthā power.—The Marāthās, now fully established as an independent power, were able to hold their own against Āsaf Jāh, the ruler of the Deccan, and to extend their predatory authority over Mālwā, and a large part of Rājputāna. In 1737 they even ventured to plunder the suburbs of Delhi. The rapid growth of Marāthā influence was mainly due to Bājī Rāo, the second Peshwā (1720–40), who is reputed to have been the ablest of his family and in capacity second to Sivājī alone among his countrymen.

Marāthā revenues. Bājī Rāo was very successful in exacting from the rulers of all states open to attack the blackmail called *chauth* (*ante*, p. 146) and another tribute called *sardesmukhi*. The assessment of such claims was designedly made intricate so as to give the Marāthās pretexts for encroachment and extortion, and to increase the power of the Brahman class to which the Peshwā belonged.

Foreign invasion; Nādir Shah. Unhappy India, already bleeding to death from internal disorders, had yet a calamity still greater to suffer. For more than two centuries she had

been spared the misery caused by serious invasions from beyond the passes of the north-western frontier, but was now to undergo experiences which recalled the days of Mahmūd and Taimūr. About 1736, the throne of Persia was seized by Nādir Shah, an adventurer who had earned a right to the highest place by the display of extraordinary abilities as a general. Being dissatisfied at the delay of the Delhi government in redressing certain grievances of which he complained, he occupied Ghaznī and Kābul, and, advancing without meeting serious resistance, was within a hundred miles of Delhi before Muhammad Shah could do anything to stop him.

Battle of Karnāl; massacre at Delhi. Early in 1739, at Karnāl, not far from the historic field of Pānīpat, the imperial forces ventured to bar the invader's path, and were easily routed. Muhammad Shah submitted, and, being courteously received, entered Delhi with the victor. Nādir Shah at first held his troops in check and protected the city, but when the populace attacked him and his men, he let loose 20,000 soldiers to burn, plunder, and slay. Not less than 30,000 people perished in the massacre, which lasted for half a day.

Return home of Nādir Shah, 1739. But Nādir Shah wanted something more than blood. The seizure of the crown jewels and the peacock throne (*ante*, p. 136) alone was sufficient to enrich the robber beyond the dreams of avarice, but he was not content until he had extorted from the surviving citizens, great and small, the larger part of their possessions, every form of cruelty being used to compel payment. He then made a treaty with Muhammad Shah, providing for the cession of the provinces beyond the Indus, reseated him on the throne, and after a stay of fifty-eight days, returned to his own country, laden with coin, plate, jewels, and precious things of every kind to the value of many millions sterling. Like the early invaders, he also brought away with him hundreds of skilled artisans.

Bālājī Rāo, Peshwā, 1740. The death of Bājī Rāo, the

Peshwā, in 1740, was the cause of violent dissensions among the Marāthā chiefs, and his son Bālājī, who succeeded him as Peshwā, was obliged to leave Bengal to the cruel mercies of a rival named Raghujī, who, in 1751, obtained from the Sūbadār, Alivardi Khan, the cession of Cuttack (Katak), the southern division of Orissa, and fixed twelve lakhs of rupees as the *chauth* payable by Bengal.

Origin of Marāthā states. About this time the chiefs who founded the existing Marāthā dynasties of Holkar at Indore, the Gaikwār at Baroda, and Sindia at Gwalior, as well as the extinct dynasty of the Bhonslās at Nāgpur, come into notice. All these chiefs were persons of humble origin who made their way to the front in the confusion and anarchy of the times. In the course of the settlement made by the English at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Holkar, Sindia, and Gaikwār dynasties had the luck to be confirmed, while the Bhonslā lost his kingdom.

The court of Delhi. The impotent court of Delhi continued to be the scene of endless intrigues and assassinations. The most prominent personages there were the Vazīr Kamar-ud-dīn Khan and Ghāzī-ud-dīn, son of Āsaf Jāh, viceroy of the Deccan.

Ahmad Shah Durrānī. In 1747 Nādir Shah, king of Persia, who had become an insane tyrant, was murdered, and succeeded in his eastern territories by a chieftain named Ahmad Khan, head of the Abdālī or Durrānī clan of the Afghans, who took the title of Ahmad Shah. Next year the Durrānī invaded the Panjāb, and was driven back, after a hard fight at Sahrind, by the imperial forces under the command of the heir apparent, Prince Ahmad, and the vazīr, who was killed in action.

Ahmad Shah of Delhi, 1748. In April of the same year, Muhammad Shah died and was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Shah, who must not be confounded with his Durrānī namesake and contemporary.

Annexation of the Panjāb by the Durrānī. During the reign of Ahmad Shah, Ghāzī-ud-dīn and other nobles were

engaged in constant fighting with one another, and Ahmad Shah Durrānī annexed the Panjāb. In 1754 Ghāzī-ud-dīn blinded his nominal sovereign, and selected as his successor a son of Jahāndār Shah.

Sack of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Durrānī. This prince was enthroned under the title of Ālamgīr II, but had nothing beyond the title in common with Aurangzeb. In 1756 Ahmad Shah Durrānī sacked Delhi and repeated the horrors of Nādir Shah's massacres seventeen years before. He also disgraced himself by a cruel slaughter of unarmed Hindus at Mathurā. Next year the heat caused sickness among his troops and obliged him to retire to his own country.

Marāthā conquest of the Panjāb. The son of Ghāzī-ud-dīn, who bore the same name as his father, called in the Marāthās to help him against his rivals, and the imperial city and the Panjāb were occupied by a Marāthā chief named Raghuba (1758).

Marāthā empire at its greatest extent, 1760. This bold advance of the upstart Hindu power alarmed the Muhammadan princes, and induced them to combine for the expulsion of the intruders, by whom almost the whole of India, from the Himalaya and the Indus to Tanjore, was dominated for the moment. The Marāthā army now included a large park of artillery and 10,000 disciplined infantry, modelled on European principles, as well as Jat and Rājpūt contingents.

The Bhāo at Delhi. Sadasheo Rāo Bhāo, commonly called 'the Bhāo', nephew of the Peshwā, Bājī Rāo, took Delhi, and completed the ruin of the palace and city, stripping the silver plating from the ceiling of the hall of audience (*diwān khās*), which produced seventeen lakhs of rupees.

Third battle of Pānīpat, Jan., 1761. Ultimately, on Jan. 13, 1761, the Marāthā host, with little or no support from the Jats and Rājpūts, confronted the army of Ahmad Shah Durrānī, who was supported by the troops of Oudh and other Muhammadan principalities, on the plain of Pānīpat, where the fate of India has been so often decided. Delay in

bringing on a battle reduced the Marāthā army to a state of famine, and at last the Bhāo was compelled to either fight or starve. He was utterly routed with enormous slaughter, in which most of the Marāthā chiefs fell. The Peshwā soon after died. The third battle of Pānīpat was the death-blow to the Peshwā's power; the temporary revival of Marāthā influence a few years later being chiefly the work of Sindia, Holkar, and other independent princes.[1]

Withdrawal of the Durrānī. Ahmad Shah Durrānī made no use of his victory, and was content to go home with his plunder. In April, 1767, after inflicting several defeats on the Sikhs, he reappeared once more for a moment near Pānīpat with 50,000 Afghan cavalry, and then retired, troubling himself no more with the affairs of Hindustan.

Condition of India under Aurangzeb's successors. The condition of India during the half-century following the death of Aurangzeb may be summed up in one word—misery. Even before his death, the French physician, Bernier, not an unfriendly critic, declared that 'no adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people'. He writes of

'a tyranny so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion—a tyranny, owing to which these wretched people either have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator from his wretched home. . . . As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition.'

After the great emperor had passed away, hell was let loose,

[1] The three battles of Pānīpat :—
(1) Defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodi by Bābar, 1526;
(2) Defeat of Hīmū by Bairām Khan and Akbar, 1556;
(3) Defeat of Marāthās by Ahmad Shah Durrānī, 1761.

and the people were ground to the dust by selfish nobles, greedy officials, and plundering armies. Hardly any one appears on the stage of history who is worthy of remembrance for his own sake, and there is little to be said about literature or art.[1] In most parts of the country the 'great anarchy' continued for another half-century, until the advance of the English power brought some measure of relief to a suffering land.

[1] Certain Muhammadan historical compilations and tolerable paintings in Indo-Persian style were produced.

BOOK V

THE BRITISH OR ANGLO-INDIAN PERIOD, FROM 1761 TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHAPTER XXII

The English in Bengal; Sirāj-ud-daula; battle of Plassey; the Company as sovereign of Bengal.

The epoch of 1761. The selection by historians of the year 1761 as marking the dividing line between the Mughal and British periods does not rest solely upon the occurrence of the battle of Pānīpat in that year. Four years earlier Clive's victory at Plassey had laid Bengal and its dependencies at the feet of the East India Company, and in 1765 the military position was legalized by the grant under imperial seal to the Company of the Diwānī, or revenue jurisdiction over the province. In the year of Pānīpat, the surrender of Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions, completed the overthrow of the French, who had been routed at Wandiwash in the preceding year. About the same time Haidar Alī made himself master of Mysore, and so founded a power which lasted until the close of the eighteenth century. Thus, from every point of view we are entitled to fix upon 1761 as the end of the old and the beginning of the new era.

Nominal survival of the Mughal empire. The Mughal empire continued to exist as the shadow of a great name until 1858, when the last titular emperor was exiled as the penalty for his share in the Mutiny. But all the princes who bore the imperial titles during the century extending from 1759 to 1858 were equally insignificant, and the course of events was little

affected by the succession of one nonentity to another.[1] The real power was in the hands of the Marāthās, the Sikhs, and the Muhammadan states of Oudh, Bengal, and the Deccan.

The transitional period. In the following pages we shall trace in outline the process by which the dominion over India passed from the hands of the Hindu and Muhammadan powers to those of the East India Company, and thence to the Crown. In order to make the subject intelligible we must depart from strict chronological order and go back for some years, dealing first with Bengal and then with the South and West. The history of this period of transition cannot be presented in a single continuous narrative, because India in those days was merely a geographical expression and had no unity within herself.

The Company's war with Aurangzeb, 1685. The beginnings of European settlement on the Indian coasts and the early stages in the history of the East India Company have been recorded in chapter xvii (*ante*, pp. 109–16). The first deliberate bid by the Company for political power in India was made in 1685, when the Directors, in pursuance of a quarrel with the Sūbadār of Bengal, obtained the sanction of King James II to the dispatch of armed squadrons to operate against the ports of both the eastern and western coasts. The expedition to the Hooghly not only failed, but resulted in the temporary expulsion of the English from Bengal (*ante*, p. 114). On the western side the English fleet caused so much annoy-

[1] Their names are:—Shah Ālam II, Dec., 1759–Nov., 1806; Akbar II, Nov., 1806–Oct., 1837; and Bahādur Shah II, Oct., 1837–March, 1858. Other pretenders were Shahjahān III, Dec., 1758–Oct., 1760; and Bīdar Bakht, Aug.–Oct., 1788. Shah Ālam at the time of his predecessor's murder was a fugitive, under the protection of the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh. He tried, unsuccessfully, to establish himself in Bihār, and from 1765 to 1771 was the dependant of the English at Allahabad. From 1771 to 1803 he was generally under the control of Marāthā chiefs. In 1788 he was cruelly blinded by an Afghan ruffian named Ghulām Kādir. From the time of Lord Lake's entry into Delhi in 1803 he became simply a pensioner of the British Government, and his successors occupied the same position.

ance by stopping the pilgrim ships sailing from Surat that in 1690 Aurangzeb, who had no navy and was busy with the Marāthās, came to terms with his assailants on both coasts and permitted Job Charnock to return to the Hooghly and found Calcutta. Soon afterwards, Fort William was built, and the merchants, feeling safe within its walls, devoted themselves to making money and put away all thoughts of empire.

Capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula, 1756. The English traders were not much heard of again until 1756, when they became involved in disputes with Sirāj-ud-daula, grandson and successor of Alivardi Khan, Sūbadār of Bengal.[1] They had been so absorbed in money-making that they had neglected their fortifications and forgotten how to defend themselves. The young Sūbadār, or Nawāb, had not much difficulty in taking Calcutta, which was basely deserted by the official chiefs of the settlement. Mr. Holwell, a brave man, then took command, and did all that was possible to hold the fort. But he was overwhelmed by numbers, and the garrison was captured.

The Black Hole. The prisoners, 146 in number, were carelessly thrust into a tiny lock-up room on a hot night in June, and left there to live or die. Next morning, when the door was opened, only twenty-three were taken out alive, including Mr. Holwell. This tragedy is known to English writers as the affair of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Sirāj-ud-daula, who was in no way concerned about the death of his prisoners, confiscated all the Company's property, and the English for the second time lost their footing in Bengal.

Relief by Admiral Watson and Clive. But, happily for the British reputation, the service of the Company included men who were not cowards. It so happened that an expedition under the command of Admiral Watson and Robert Clive, who had been operating successfully against the pirates of the Bombay coast, had just returned to Madras when the news

[1] Sirāj-ud-daula means 'lamp or sun of the State'. Many writers give the name incorrectly.

arrived of the capture of Calcutta. The available force, consisting of Admiral Watson's fleet, with 900 European soldiers, and 1,500 sepoys under Clive's command, was dispatched to Bengal, and sailed up the Hooghly in December, 1756.

Action at Dum-dum and capture of Chandernagore. In February, 1757, the Nawāb was badly defeated in an action at Dum-dum, and obliged to agree to the return of the English, the fortification of Calcutta, and the establishment of a mint there. But, when he heard of the outbreak in Europe of the contest known as the Seven Years' War, his hopes of receiving French aid revived, and he invited the French general Bussy to come up from the South. By way of reply, Clive and Watson took possession of Chandernagore, the French settlement.

Misgovernment of Sirāj-ud-daula; Omichand. The misgovernment of Sirāj-ud-daula, a good-for-nothing young man, provoked discontent, directed by Mīr Jāfir, brother-in-law of Alivardi Khan, who entered into negotiations with Clive. The English officers agreed to place Mīr Jāfir on the throne of Bengal in return for a payment of 175 lakhs of rupees besides compensation for losses. In order to secure the indispensable support of Amīnchand (Omichand), an influential Sikh banker, Clive descended to the meanness of inserting in a forged copy of the agreement with the Nawāb a promise to pay the banker a large sum, which was omitted from the genuine document. Amīnchand naturally was overwhelmed when Clive coolly confessed to the deception, but the current story that he lost his reason from the shock and died an imbecile is false. The old Calcutta records prove that after an interval he resumed business and engaged in several transactions with the English. As Mr. Marshman observes, 'this is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive which does not admit of vindication, though he himself always defended it and declared that he was ready to do it a hundred times over.' Admiral Watson honourably refused to sign the false document.

Battle of Plassey, June 23, 1757. On the 23rd of June, 1757, a year after the tragedy of the Black Hole, Clive met the army of the Nawāb at Plassey, in the Nadiyā District, near Kāsimbazar, and not far from Murshīdābād. The English commander's force consisted of a little more than 3,000 men, including 950 Europeans, and his guns were few and light. His opponent had at his disposal 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and fifty-three guns, mostly of heavy calibre, besides some forty or fifty Frenchmen with four light field-pieces. The Nawāb displayed abject personal cowardice, and, after many hours' feeble fighting, his huge host was utterly routed. The handful of 'vagabond Frenchmen', as Orme calls them, under the command of a man named St. Frais, made a brave stand, but were unable to save the cause of the coward whom they served. The loss on the British side was trifling, amounting to only twenty-three killed and forty-nine wounded. The Nawāb's losses were supposed to be about a thousand men killed and wounded. Shortly after the battle, Sirāj-ud-daula was captured and put to death by a follower of Mīr Jāfir. In accordance with the agreement made, Mīr Jāfir was recognized by the English authorities as Nawāb, the title generally given at that period to the Sūbadār, and was compelled to pay heavily for his promotion.

Defeat of the Dutch. The new Nawāb, having soon found that his English patrons were disposed to be masters, resented the position and sought deliverance by negotiations with the Dutch. But Clive put a stop to them by inflicting a severe defeat on the Hollanders at their settlement of Chinsurah, near Calcutta (1759). Next year he returned to England, where he was received with honour by King George and Mr. Pitt, the Prime Minister, and given an Irish peerage as Baron Clive of Plassey.[1]

Massacre of Patna. During Clive's absence the Company's affairs in Bengal were ill-managed by Mr. Vansittart, a weak

[1] An Irish peer does not become, as such, a member of the House of Lords, and may sit in the House of Commons, as Clive actually did.

but tolerably honest man, who had the misfortune to be surrounded by colleagues not at all honest. These men oppressed the people by means of a cruelly worked salt monopoly and other devices for their own enrichment. They replaced Mīr Jāfir as Nawāb by his son-in-law, Mīr Kāsim, making a good profit out of the transaction, and obtaining for the Company the cession of Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong. The misconduct of Mr. Ellis, a civil official at Patna, resulted in the outbreak of war with the Nawāb, who, having been defeated in actions at Katwā (Cutwa) and other places, took refuge in Oudh, and some years later died at Delhi in extreme poverty.

On the other hand, the British lost Mr. Ellis and a number of other officials and soldiers, 148 in all, who had been taken prisoners, and were barbarously massacred at Patna by Walter Reinhardt, nicknamed Sumroo or Sombre, a German soldier of fortune then in the service of Mīr Kāsim (October, 1763).

Battle of Buxar, 1764. A year later (October, 1764) Major, afterwards Sir Hector, Munro encountered at Buxar, on the Ganges, the combined forces of Mīr Kāsim and the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, who had united in an effort to expel the foreigners. The allies were decisively defeated, and the country as far west as Allahabad lay at the disposal of the victor. The emperor Shah Ālam took no part in the action, and came into the British camp on the next day. Buxar completed the work of Plassey, and finished once for all the military subjugation of Bengal and Bihār.

Clive's return to India; his non-aggressive policy. In May, 1765, Clive, who had been sent out again from England to settle the disorder in Bengal, returned to Calcutta. He found, to use his own words, 'a presidency divided, headstrong, and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and a service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit.' He knew well that the empire of Hindustan was within his grasp, if he chose to take it.

'We have at last arrived,' he wrote, 'at that critical period which I have long foreseen, that period which renders it necessary to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. . . . It is scarcely hyperbole to say that to-morrow the whole Moghul empire is in our power.'

But he disapproved of a policy of adventure, and refused the empire which was to be had for the taking.

Grant of the Dīwānī, Aug. 12, 1765. He was content to legalize the Company's position in Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa by accepting from the titular emperor, Shah Ālam, a formal grant of the Dīwānī, that is to say, power to collect and administer the revenues of those provinces. The Company was thus placed in the legal position of the Dīwān or civil colleague of a Sūbadār under the Mughal system of administration. It undertook to pay twenty-six lakhs of rupees annually to the imperial treasury. At the same time the emperor granted the sarkārs of Benares and Ghazīpur as fiefs to be held direct by the Company.

Double government; Oudh. In his anxiety to disturb traditional arrangements as little as possible, Clive worked the Dīwānī or revenue administration through native agents, and left all police and executive business in the hands of the Sūbadār, or Nawāb, as he was then generally called. This system, essentially weak, worked badly in practice. Oudh was left in the possession of the Nawāb-Vazīr, subject to the cession to the emperor of the Allahabad and Karā Sūba (excluding Ghāzīpur and Benares), as the equivalent of tribute due, which had never been paid. This arrangement was agreeable to Shah Ālam, who, on his part, granted to the Company the 'Northern Circars', of which he was not in possession. He took up his residence at Allahabad, and remained there for six years, practically as a pensioner of the English.

Mutiny of British officers; reforms. Certain reductions in the allowances (*batta*) to the British officers having been retrenched under orders from the Directors, great discontent arose among the persons affected, and most of the officers in

Bengal so far forgot their duty as to form mutinous combinations. This dangerous movement was met by Clive with inflexible firmness and frustrated. Civil as well as military reforms were pressed with vigour, civil officers being required to sign covenants and abstain from accepting gifts. A scheme was devised for giving the officials adequate legitimate pay, but met with only partial acceptance from the Directors. All these measures of reform aroused much hostility among persons whose pecuniary gains were diminished.

Clive's return to England and death. In 1767 illness compelled Clive to return home, leaving his work unfinished. On arrival in England he was at first received with due honour, but after a time his enemies began to pursue him with malignant calumny. Ultimately the House of Commons, while unable to approve of all his acts, resolved that 'Robert, Lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to his country'. The attacks on him then ceased, but his health had suffered, and he was afflicted by sleeplessness. In November, 1774, weary of an ungrateful world, he cut his throat with a penknife.

Character of Clive. Throughout his brief life of action (1751–67) Clive retained the qualities which he had displayed as a young man in the defence of Arcot. No danger could daunt his calm courage, no difficulties could exceed his resources, no resistance could shake his will. In his youth, although absolutely untaught in the science of war, he proved himself to be 'a heaven-born general', and in the maturity of his powers he displayed the gifts of a far-seeing statesman. Posterity has endorsed the verdict of the House of Commons that he 'did render great and meritorious services to his country', and the rider may now be added that during his second administration he did his best to serve India as well as England, to protect the weak and to restrain the strong.

Misgovernment and famine, 1767–72. The interval of five years between the departure of Clive in 1767 and the appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal in 1772 was

marked by shocking misgovernment, due to the division of authority, the rapacity of the Company's officials when freed from the strong controlling hand, and general demoralization. In 1770–1 an awful famine, still remembered, desolated the land, and is believed to have destroyed one-third of the population. In all ages India has been familiar with the horrors of famine, and several visitations of the kind have been alluded to in previous pages, but, so far as is known, none of them surpassed, or perhaps equalled, the famine of 1770, which extended far beyond the limits of Bengal.

The Company sovereign of Bengal. Having thus traced the process by which the East India Company acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, Bihār, Ghāzīpur, Benares, Orissa, and the 'Northern Circars', with a controlling influence over the politics of all Northern India, we must now turn to the south and west to see how the petty trading 'factories' on the coast contributed to the formation of the British Indian empire.

CHAPTER XXIII

Conflict of the French and English in Southern India: Dupleix, Bussy, and Lally; Mysore; Haidar Ali.

Conflict between French and English. The competition between the French and English settlements on the Madras coasts for the control of the sea-borne trade developed into a struggle for political mastery, in which the native powers allied with one side or the other played only a secondary part. In that struggle the naval superiority of England was the decisive factor. From Madras, where he had already done much for his country, Robert Clive transferred the conflict to Bengal, and there too was victorious by the aid of sea power. On the Bombay side the Marāthās were too strong to allow the European settlements much scope for expansion. The British empire in India was founded in Madras and Bengal, the English traders being first forced into political action by French rivalry.

Pondicherry; Governors Dumas and Dupleix. The French settlement of Pondicherry, about a hundred miles to the south of Madras, founded in 1674, was greatly developed under the government of M. Dumas (1735–41), who won a high reputation by his repulse of a large Marāthā force. His successor, M. Dupleix, who had already distinguished himself as head of the Chandernagore settlement near Calcutta, found in the south a larger field for the exercise of his abilities, and devised an ambitious policy based on interference in the affairs of the native states and aimed at the destruction of the English settlements.

First Anglo-French war. In 1745, war between France and England having been declared, a fleet from the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, then a French colony, captured Madras, which was held by France until 1748, when it was restored to England by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. During the interval the English possessions in the south were reduced to the one small fort of St. David, near Cuddalore.

Second Anglo-French war. The second Anglo-French war, a local affair, waged when the mother countries officially were at peace, arose out of disputed successions to the Nawāb of the Carnatic, or Arcot country, and the Nizām of Hyderabad. Dupleix supported Chanda Sahib as candidate for the former and Muzaffar Jang for the latter. The English settlers naturally took the side of the rival claimants, Muhammad Ali and Nazir Jang respectively. While Dupleix strengthened himself by the capture of Jinjī, Robert Clive, who had come out as a civil servant seven years before, made his name immortal by the successful defence of Arcot for fifty-one days in 1751 with a garrison of 120 Europeans and 200 Indians against Chanda Sahib's host of 10,000, including 150 French soldiers.

This irregular warfare having been made the subject of complaint by the English king's government, the French court recalled Dupleix, who was ruined, and left to die in poverty. His successor gave up to his opponents everything in dispute,

and a peace was arranged, but not long observed. The English became predominant in the Carnatic, while the French continued to wield the prevailing influence at Hyderabad.

Third Anglo-French war; Bussy and Lally. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756 involved the renewal in India of hostilities between the French and English. At that time M. Bussy, an able French officer, dominated the court of the Nizām, and had taken possession of the 'Northern Circars'.[1] Colonel Forde turned him out of that province in 1758, and the prospects of Bussy, who understood the ways of the country, were ruined by the interference of Lally, the new French Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, who is described as 'a hot-headed stiff martinet', hated alike by Europeans and Indians. When Lally landed in 1758 Clive was already master of Bengal, and the only chance left for the French was in Bussy's liberty of action. Lally's meddling destroyed all hopes of French success. An attack on Madras failed, and the French communications were cut by the English command of the sea.

Battle of Wandiwash, 1760; fall of Pondicherry, 1761. Contrary to Bussy's advice, Lally invested the fort of Wandiwash, north of Jinjī, and there, in January, 1760, was utterly defeated by Sir Eyre Coote, and driven into Pondicherry, which surrendered in 1761, after enduring a distressing siege for nine months.

Thus ended, in the year of Pānīpat, the last serious attempt of France to found an empire in India. Admiral Suffren's expedition in 1781, which seemed formidable, came to nothing owing to the peace of 1783. The other European powers—Portuguese, Dutch, and Danish—having dropped out of the running, the field was left clear for the English. Lally had a hard fate on his return to his country, being wrongfully

[1] The Northern Sarkārs in Mughal times were Guntūr, Kondapalli, Ellore, Rajahmundry, and Chicacole, the chief town being Masulipatam. Guntūr was not acquired by the Company until the time of Lord Cornwallis. The corresponding Districts of the Madras Presidency are Guntūr, Godāvarī, Kistnā (Krishnā), Ganjām, and Vizagapatam.

convicted of treason and executed. France did not treat her sons well. The peace of Paris in 1763 formally closed the war.

The kingdom of Mysore. When the kingdom of Vijayanagar was broken up after the battle of Talikota in 1565 (*ante*, p. 95), its component parts passed under the rule of various chieftains. One of those parts—the province of Mysore, varying in extent from time to time—continued to be governed by a dynasty of Hindu Rājās, who had been feudatories of the Vijayanagar kings.

Haidar Ali becomes master of Mysore. In 1749 Haidar Ali, then twenty-seven years of age, joined as a volunteer horseman the corps under the command of his elder brother, Shahbāz, an officer in the service of the Mysore Rājā. The young man, having attracted notice during the defence of a fort, was appointed to the command of a small force with the rank of Nāyak; and in due course was promoted to be Faujdar of Dindigal. He used his authority to raise a large body of organized plunderers, and thus became a power in the state. A treacherous palace intrigue drove him from office, but by various stratagems he recovered his position, and in June, 1761, had made himself practically master of both the Rājā and Mysore. The weakness of the Marāthās after the battle of Pānipat in that year gave him his opportunity, and the capture of Bednore with treasure extravagantly valued at twelve millions sterling supplied him with funds.

Wars with the Marāthās, the Nizām, and the English. The Marāthās could not willingly brook the rise of a new and aggressive power. In 1765 they inflicted a severe defeat on Haidar Ali and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity. Next year he compensated himself by the conquest of Malabar. The Nizām, who at first had opposed Haidar Ali, now joined him against the English, but the allies were defeated by Colonel Smith. In 1769 Haidar Ali appeared before Madras and frightened the incompetent local government into making a treaty with him, on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests,

exchange of prisoners, and reciprocal assistance in defensive war. The conflict thus ended is known as the First Mysore War. Three years later the Marāthās again proved themselves too strong for him and forced him to buy them off at a high price. In 1780 he assembled an army of 90,000 men, guided by able French officers, with the purpose of overthrowing the English, who had failed to give him the promised help, and he cut up a detachment under Colonel Baillie. Sir Eyre Coote avenged the disaster by a great victory at Porto Novo, and followed that up by other successes. A small defeat of Colonel Braithwaite by Haidar Ali's son Tipū did not materially improve the position of the Mysore ruler, and the expected French support failed. In December, 1782, Haidar Ali died, at the age of sixty,[1] beaten, but not subdued.

Character of Haidar Ali. Haidar Ali, by far the most remarkable man evolved from the chaos of the eighteenth century in Southern India, possessed abilities and fertility of resource which enabled him to overcome the caprices of fortune and build up a military state strong enough to threaten the stability of the growing British Empire. Although unable to read or write beyond signing his initial upside down, he spoke five Indian languages fluently, and his conduct of business was a model of regularity and dispatch.

He is described as being never for a moment idle from morning to night. He relied for success on strict personal supervision of every act of government and on a system of ferocious tyranny.

'By his power,' writes a contemporary historian, 'mankind were held in fear and trembling; and from his severity God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. . . . No person of respectability ever left his house with the expectation of returning safe to it.'

The English officers and soldiers who had the misfortune to

[1] Not 'an old man of eighty', as often stated. He was born in 1722, not in 1702.

be taken prisoners suffered agonies from his unfeeling cruelty. He had no religion, no morals, no compassion.

His mistaken policy. Shortly before his death he realized that his policy had been ill-judged, and expressed in remarkable words his appreciation of the fact that England's power is securely based upon the command of the sea (*ante*, p. 12).

'I have committed,' he said, 'a great error; I have purchased a draught of spirits at the price of a lakh of pagodas; I shall pay dearly for my arrogance; between the English and me there were perhaps mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but not sufficient cause for war, and I might have made them my friends in spite of Muhammad Ali, the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Braithwaites and Baillies will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea; and I must be the first to weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting.'

His son Tipū would have done well to ponder these words.

The subsequent history of Mysore will be dealt with in connexion with the administrations of Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Wellesley.

CHAPTER XXIV

Bengal affairs: the Regulating Act; Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General; the first Marāthā war.

Confusion in Bengal. When Clive quitted India in 1767 only eleven years had elapsed since the English had been expelled from Calcutta with contumely. During that short interval the East India Company was surprised to find that it had become the actual sovereign of Bengal, of Bihār, of Ghāzīpur, of Benares, and of the Northern Circars, besides holding a legal claim to Orissa, then in possession of the Marāthās, and a commanding influence over the policy of the ruler of Oudh. The Company was not prepared for this sudden increase of responsibility. Its officials were merchants, engaged in trade, and ill qualified to undertake the duties of government. Clive, as we have seen, tried to

administer the country on the old Mughal lines, but the experiment failed, and the consequent disorder made new arrangements absolutely necessary. The Directors sought for a strong man who could be trusted to remedy the miseries of Bengal and to introduce the elements of civilized government. They found him in the person of Warren Hastings, who took over charge of the office of Governor of Bengal in April, 1772.

Early life of Warren Hastings. Warren Hastings, the son of an impoverished member of an ancient family, had joined the Company's service as a lad eighteen years of age in 1750, and afterwards had done good work under Clive, enjoying a high reputation for ability and integrity. Late in 1764 he returned to England, where he stayed until the beginning of 1769. The Directors then sent him out to Madras as Member of Council at that settlement, where he conducted himself with such discretion in difficult circumstances that he was selected to fill the more arduous position of ruler of Bengal.

Hastings as Governor of Bengal; internal reforms, 1772–4. The new Governor lost no time in carrying out his instructions, and in taking measures to introduce effective government under the avowed authority of the Company. The two Indian officials, Muhammad Razā in Bengal and Rājā Shitāb Rāi in Bihār, who had despotically managed the revenue affairs of the two provinces as Deputies, were removed from office, and a Revenue Board was created at Calcutta. British officers were appointed as Collectors of Districts and Divisional Commissioners, the foundation thus being laid of the administrative system which exists to this day. The collections were farmed for five years, an unsatisfactory settlement of the revenue difficulty, but the best that could be made at the time. Civil and criminal courts were established at Calcutta and in the provinces, and arrangements were made for translating works on Indian law. Large economies were effected by reductions in the allowances paid to the titular Nawāb of

Bengal, and severe measures were taken to check the ravages of the dacoits or gangs of robbers.

Oudh and the Emperor Shah Ālam. Clive in 1765 had made over to the Emperor Shah Ālam the districts of Allahabad and Karā in the hope that he would be able to hold them and keep out the Marāthās. But the Marāthās, although hit hard by the disaster of Pānīpat, soon began to recover power, and at the close of 1770 Mahadājī Sindia occupied Delhi. He persuaded Shah Ālam to quit Allahabad and return to the capital. The emperor thus became a dependant of the Marāthās, and Hastings was justified in withholding payment of the Bengal tribute, and in treating Allahabad and Karā as abandoned by the emperor. He was not at liberty to take over the government of those provinces, being bound by strict orders to abstain from annexation. He came, therefore, to the conclusion that the best thing he could do was to assign them for payment, or, in plain English, sell them to the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh. In 1773, accordingly, Allahabad and Karā were made over to that potentate in exchange for fifty lakhs of rupees, and arrangements were made for supplying a British brigade as an auxiliary force when needed by the Oudh government. When the necessities and difficulties of Hastings's position are realized and the urgency of the Marāthā menace is rightly estimated, these transactions admit of effective defence. In 1774, when the Rohilla war was undertaken, the emperor gave formal sanction to the transfer of Allahabad and Karā to Oudh.

The Rohilla war, 1773–4. The provinces of Katehar and Sambhal, north of the Ganges, were then ruled by the Rohillas, a clan of Afghan adventurers, and consequently had become known as Rohilkhand. Being rich and fertile, it was an object of desire to both the Marāthās and the rulers of Oudh. The Marāthās already had begun to raid the country, and the Nawāb-Vazīr was eager to annex it. Hastings had long regarded the Rohillas as being dangerous to the Vazīr, the only useful ally of the Company, and had reason to fear that

they might join the Marāthās, and then destroy the buffer state of Oudh. He therefore held that the threatened danger could be averted only by the conquest of Rohilkhand, and when his ally of Oudh asked for help in that undertaking, Hastings lent him a brigade under the command of Colonel Champion. The enterprise succeeded in its purpose. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh, and the Bengal frontier was secured against Marāthā invasion. But the transaction was so far objectionable that troops under a British commander were placed in exchange for a money payment, and without adequate check, at the disposal of an Indian ruler, whose forces permitted themselves a degree of licence forbidden by the customs of civilized warfare. Many of the Rohillas quitted the province, but one chief was permitted to retain his fief, now the small state of Rāmpur, near Bareilly, and still governed by a Rohilla Nawāb. The villagers of the province, Hindus for the most part, once the storm of war had passed, simply had to accept a change of masters, a matter of little concern to them. Hastings's conduct in the affair of the Rohilla war offers little occasion for blame and was grossly misrepresented by the prosecution at his trial, and subsequently by Macaulay.

The Regulating Act, 1773. The irregular acquisition of a wide dominion in India by a mercantile company necessarily engaged the attention of Parliament and the King's government in England, and all parties were agreed that the proceedings of the East India Company must be regulated by law. Discussion resulted in the passing by Lord North's government of the measure known as the Regulating Act. This statute limited the powers of the proprietors of the Company, required the submission of dispatches to the King's ministers for information, transformed the Governor of Bengal into a Governor-General in Council with partial controlling powers over all British establishments in India, and constituted a Supreme Court of Judicature consisting of a chief justice and three judges. The Council, which under Clive's government

had consisted of 11 or 12 members, was reduced to 4 only.

Hastings first Governor-General, 1774. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of Bengal with powers of control over other settlements, retaining his position also as Governor of Bengal, and the Councillors appointed to assist him were Richard Barwell, a member of the old Bengal Council, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. The new government took over charge in October, 1774. The chief justice was Sir Elijah Impey.

Hostile Councillors. When the Council met, Hastings found that he could rely on the support of Mr. Barwell alone, the other members being hostile. The Act having given him no power to overrule his colleagues, the Governor-General was always in a minority. This state of affairs resulted in constant friction and some scandalous scenes, which lasted for two years, until Colonel Monson died and Hastings became master in his own house. A year later General Clavering also passed away, and the official changes which followed did not seriously interfere with the power of the Governor-General.

Rājā Nandkumār. The most famous and disputed incident of the struggle between the Governor-General and his Councillors is that of the death of Rājā Nandkumār (Nuncomar), a clever and influential Brahman, who had long been a personal enemy of Hastings, and intimate with his opponents. In 1775 Hastings instituted a charge of conspiracy against the Rājā. While that was pending a private person accused Nandkumār of uttering a forged bond. The forgery case, which was tried carefully by the Supreme Court, resulted in the conviction and execution of the Rājā, in accordance with the English law of the time, under which forgery was treated as a capital crime. The result of the trial was so advantageous to Hastings that naturally he has been suspected of influencing it. But he denied on oath that he had any concern in the business, and no particle of evidence connecting him with it has been discovered.

Conflict with the Supreme Court. The prolong-

between the Governor-General and his Council revealed one fault of the Regulating Act, in that it allowed the responsible head of the administration to be overruled by his colleagues. The second defect of the statute was its failure to define the powers of the Supreme Court or its relations with the Executive. The court asserted extravagant claims to jurisdiction, which if allowed would have made the Government powerless, and the unseemly contest which followed was not stilled until Hastings hit on the device of appointing Sir Elijah Impey to be head of the Company's courts as well as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Two discreditable incidents. Two incidents in the stormy career of Hastings, which arose out of the pressing financial straits to which his government was reduced by constant war, may be noticed out of the order of time and apart from the general narrative, his dealings with Rājā Chait Singh of Benares and his exactions from the Begams of Oudh. Both incidents furnished much material for his accusers, and both, even when regarded in the most favourable light possible, must be admitted to be damaging to his reputation. In the year 1781 the newborn British power in India was struggling for bare existence against the French, the Marāthās, and Haidar Ali, and it was evident that nothing but unceasing exertions could save the situation. War cannot be waged without money; Hastings had plenty of war but no money, and his hard case put him to rather desperate shifts.

The affair of Rājā Chait Singh. In 1775 the fief of Rājā Chait Singh of Benares, illegitimate son of an upstart prince, had been transferred by his suzerain, the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, to the Company, and the Rājā thus became bound to render customary service to his new lords. When called upon in 1778 to pay a contribution of five lakhs for military purposes he complied grudgingly. The demands made in the next two years were partially evaded, and in 1781 Hastings, being pressed for money, determined to make an example of the obstinate Rājā, who had given him offence in other

ways. A fine of fifty lakhs, about half a million sterling, was imposed, and Hastings proceeded to Benares to levy it. Although escorted by an inadequate force, he rashly arrested Chait Singh, whose people rose, slew the Governor-General's sepoys, and forced Hastings to flee for his life to Chunar. The Rājā raised an army of 40,000 men, but Hastings never lost his head, and quickly made arrangements which resulted in the total defeat of the enemy. The main purpose of the dangerous adventure, however, failed, because the victorious army appropriated as prize-money the forty lakhs of rupees taken in the Rājā's stronghold. The Company gained no direct advantage except a future doubled assessment on the estates of Chait Singh, which were made over to his nephew and are still held by a descendant, H. H. the Mahārāja of Benares, a much respected and loyal nobleman. It is impossible either to justify fully Hastings's proceedings in the business of Chait Singh, or to acquit him of rashness in the execution of his plans.

The affair of the Begams of Oudh, 1782. The second incident arose out of the failure to secure Chait Singh's cash. At that time the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, Āsaf-ud-daula, was deeply in debt to the British Government for the pay of the auxiliary troops supplied to him, and was unable to raise the money required, unless he could lay hands on the treasures held adversely to him by his mother and grandmother, known as the Begams of Oudh. Those treasures undoubtedly were State property, but Hastings's hostile Councillors had guaranteed them to the Begams and rejected the just claims of the Nawāb-Vazīr. The Begams having actively supported the cause of Chait Singh, Hastings felt justified in revoking the guarantee given by the Council improperly and against his opinion. Troops were sent to Fyzabad, where the ladies resided, the palace eunuchs were thrown into chains and half-starved, and seventy-five lakhs of rupees were extracted. At the trial of Hastings in England these discreditable facts were enormously exaggerated by the rhetoric of his accusers, made

familiar to all readers in Macaulay's brilliant but untrustworthy essay. The seventy-five lakhs did not exhaust the accumulations of the Begams, the younger of whom was 'alive and hearty and very rich' twenty-one years later, when one of the roughly treated eunuchs also was still living, 'well, fat, and enormously rich.' Sir Alfred Lyall's judgement on the affair may be accepted, that 'the employment of personal severities, under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs, is an ignoble kind of undertaking; and it is impossible not to adjudge serious blame to Hastings for having taken a prominent part in such a business'.

Mysore and Madras affairs. When Haidar Ali died in 1782 (*ante*, p. 173) he was peacefully succeeded by his son Tipū (Tippoo), a man of inferior abilities, who continued the war with the English. In the next year a British force sent from Bombay was compelled to surrender at Bednore, and the prisoners were sent in chains to Seringapatam. Tipū then laid siege to Mangalore, an important port on the western coast, which also was forced to capitulate, but on honourable terms. The war was concluded by the Treaty of Mangalore, arranged by the government of Madras, based on the mutual restitution of conquests and the release of prisoners. The negotiations, conducted in a way disgraceful to the English name, would have been disallowed by Hastings if he had had the power. But just then, being hampered by opposition in his Council and unwelcome orders from England, he was obliged to allow the Madras authorities to display their 'traditional imbecility'. The peace with Mysore lasted for six years.

The first Marāthā war. The war known as the first Marāthā war arose out of a disputed succession to the office of Peshwā. Mādho (Mādhava) Rāo, the fourth Peshwā, died in 1772, the year in which Hastings became Governor of Bengal. and was replaced by his brother Narāyan Rāo, who, nine months later, was murdered by his uncle Raghoba (Raghunath). The succession was contested between the murderer and the

supporters of his victim's posthumous child, who set up a regency. The English authorities at Bombay promised their support to Raghoba at the price of the cession of Salsette and Bassein, and an agreement to that effect, the Treaty of Surat (1775), was concluded without the knowledge of the Governor-General.[1] But he found himself obliged to support the Bombay President in the war which ensued. In 1779 Commissioner Carnac concluded with the Marāthās, guided by Nānā Farnavīs, an arrangement known as the Convention of Wargaon, the provisions of which were considered so disgraceful that Carnac and other officers concerned were dismissed the service. Hastings saved the Bombay settlement from destruction by the dispatch of an expedition under Colonel Goddard, which marched right across India from Bengal, a remarkable achievement in those days. In the following year (1780) the fortress of Gwalior, supposed to be impregnable, was taken by Major Popham without the loss of a single man. This brilliant feat did much to wipe out the disgrace of the 'infamous' Convention of Wargaon.

Treaty of Salbāi, 1782; Mahadājī Sindia. Ultimately, in 1782, through the mediation of Sindia, whose power now overshadowed that of the Peshwā, the Treaty of Salbāi was signed, which awarded to the English the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, close to Bombay, guaranteed Raghoba a liberal pension, and acknowledged as Peshwā the son of Narāyan Rāo. This treaty secured peace between the Peshwā and the British Government for twenty years. It greatly enhanced the importance of Mahadājī Sindia, who was recognized by Hastings as the representative of the Marāthā power. Peace with France having been concluded in 1783, Hastings was able to quit India in 1785.

Impeachment and death of Hastings. His proceedings, some of which undoubtedly were open to adverse criticism, had raised up many enemies. The opposition to his policy,

[1] The Treaty of Purandhar, substituted for the Treaty of Surat by Hastings's colleagues, never took effect.

stimulated by motives of English party politics, resulted in the impeachment of the ex-Governor-General by the House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords. The court sitting only for a few days in each year, the trial dragged on for seven years. At last, in April, 1795, Hastings was acquitted on all the charges which had been pressed. The Directors having made the necessary provision for his expenses and support, he lived at Daylesford as a benevolent country gentleman until 1818, when he died in his eighty-sixth year.

Character of Warren Hastings. The character of Warren Hastings has given rise to so much bitter controversy that even now it is difficult to pass a judgement likely to command universal assent. Perhaps a general agreement may be assumed that his acquittal was right, and that his errors were not of the kind deserving of judicial penalties. Undoubtedly he was a great Englishman, devoted to the service of his country, and not unmindful of his duty to the land in which he did so much to make his nation supreme. In labour he was unwearied, in resolve inflexible, in adversity patient, in danger imperturbable, and in policy far-seeing. If he displayed at times somewhat of arrogance, or intolerance of opposition, his consciousness of superior knowledge and capacity must be his excuse. In a greedy age and surrounded by men whose god was money, he was distinguished by clean hands which scorned to grasp polluted riches. In private life he was a well-bred gentleman, of amiable manners, refined taste, and generous beyond the bounds of prudence.

British India in 1785. Annexation was not in favour with Hastings, whose acquisitions were limited to the Ghāzīpur and Benares districts on the Ganges, and the small areas of Bassein, Salsette, and Elephanta, close to Bombay. When he went home, British India comprised Bengal, Bihār, Ghāzīpur, Benares, the 'Northern Circars' (except Guntūr),[1] Madras, and a limited area adjoining, with Fort St. David and some other little settlements on the east, and Bombay, Surat, and a few other

[1] Ceded by the Nizām to Lord Cornwallis

places on the west coast. Orissa, although included in the imperial grant of the Dīwānī, was held by the Marāthās of Nāgpur, and was not in the Company's effective possession.

CHAPTER XXV

Mr. Macpherson; Lord Cornwallis; Pitt's India Act; Permanent Settlement and reforms; the third Mysore war; Sir John Shore.

Mr. Macpherson; Lord Cornwallis. Pending the arrival of a permanent successor, Warren Hastings made over charge to Mr. Macpherson (afterwards Sir John), the senior Member of Council, as acting Governor-General. The Home Government deeming it necessary to appoint a statesman of reputation to take charge of the now extensive British dominions in India selected Earl Cornwallis. A special Act was passed conferring upon the Governor-General that power of overruling his Council which Hastings had so much missed.

Pitt's India Act, 1784. The system of government was changed by Mr. Pitt's India Act of 1784, which placed Indian affairs in the hands of a secret committee consisting of the chairman, vice-chairman, and senior member of the Court of Directors, acting under the supervision of a board of six commissioners, commonly called the Board of Control, appointed by the Crown. The Directors were allowed to retain the patronage, but the real power now passed to the King's ministers. Mr. Dundas was appointed first President of the new board. This system lasted without substantial change until 1858, when the Crown assumed the direct administration.

Administrative reforms of Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis, when he took over charge at Calcutta in September, 1786, was vested with full authority as both Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to control all civil and military affairs of the British settlements in India, and, if necessary, to overrule opposition by his colleagues. He also enjoyed the confidence of the ministry at home, and thus started his work with

advantages never possessed by Hastings. The first three years of his administration were devoted to internal reforms, and especially to the organization of a regular civil service properly paid by fixed salaries, and not by fluctuating commissions or irregular trading profits. The beginnings of this necessary reform were the work of Clive and Hastings, but neither was able to complete the change, which was effected by Lord Cornwallis with comparative ease, owing to his more favourable position.

The Permanent Settlement. The most famous measure of Lord Cornwallis is the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, concluded in 1793, when the then existing assessment of land revenue, which had been made for ten years, was declared to be perpetual. Two years later the same boon was conferred upon the province of Benares.[1] The policy of the Permanent Settlement, carried out by Lord Cornwallis against the advice, but with the help, of his most esteemed councillor, Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), and with the full approval of Mr. Pitt and the Board of Control, is undoubtedly open to the criticism that it was adopted with undue haste, and that it has imposed an unequal burden on the less favoured parts of the empire. No attempt was made to follow the example of Todar Mall by surveying the lands or calculating their value. The assessment was made roughly on the basis of accounts of previous collections, and was necessarily done in a haphazard fashion. Probably most competent judges, not being personally interested, are of opinion both that the measure was a mistake and that now it is too late to rectify the error. The author of the Permanent Settlement fancied that he would create a race of ideal landlords, eager to improve their estates, and was not sufficiently acquainted with the facts of Indian life to know the baselessness of such a fancy. He also designed to protect the subordinate tenure-holders and cultivating tenants against the oppression of their lords, and, so far as words went, the regulations gave such protection.

[1] Now included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

But in practice tenants with grievances had little chance of redress until long afterwards, when Act X of 1859 was passed, and provided more or less effective remedies. The difficulty of reconciling the conflicting interests of landlords and tenants in Bengal and elsewhere still continues acute in spite of much modern legislation. Of course, the provinces permanently settled have received many obvious advantages from the hasty benevolence of Lord Cornwallis, but those benefits have been gained at the expense of other provinces not less meritorious.

The Cornwallis Code. Lord Cornwallis also carried out judicial reforms, supplementing the work begun by Hastings. The new courts were provided with a bulky code, prepared by Mr. George Barlow, which is a monument of good intentions. But it was far too elaborate, being loaded with formalities and technical rules ill suited to a people only just delivered from the rude simplicity of Mughal jurisprudence and procedure. The courts of appeal established by Lord Cornwallis were abolished long ago, and all his detailed judicial arrangements have been modified by later legislation, but the existing system is built on his foundations. The criminal courts under his regulations were governed by the Muhammadan law, shorn of some of its more barbarous peculiarities, mutilation, for instance, being forbidden. The English civil courts were assisted by a Hindu pundit as adviser on Hindu, and a Musalman Kāzī or Maulavī as adviser on Muhammadan law. The administrative arrangements of Lord Cornwallis were marred by his excessive distrust of Indian agency. The natives of the country were excluded from office except of the most petty kind, and a burden greater than it could bear was thrown on the covenanted Civil Service, which at that time comprised only about three hundred members and had to supply all the executive and judicial appointments of any importance.

The third Mysore war. At the time of passing the Indian Act Parliament had declared that 'to pursue schemes of conquest and acquisition of territory was contrary to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the British nation'.

Instructions given in that spirit were honestly accepted by Lord Cornwallis, but before his rule ended he had to bow to necessity and lead in person a victorious army to extensive conquests. In 1790 an attack by Tipū, the ruler of Mysore, on Travancore, an ally of the British Government, compelled the Governor-General to declare war. An alliance with the Nizām and the Peshwā was arranged on the condition that all conquests should be divided equally among the three allied powers. The earlier operations of the war were unsatisfactory owing to the failure of the Madras authorities to provide supplies, and Lord Cornwallis found himself constrained to use his special powers and take command himself. In the third season's operations the British force, assisted by a contingent from Bombay, captured the outworks of Seringapatam, Tipū's capital. The sultan was forced to accept the hard terms dictated by the victor, which exacted the cession of half his dominions, the payment of three hundred lakhs (thirty millions) of rupees, and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. The districts acquired by the Company, the nucleus of the existing Presidency of Madras, yielded a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees, about four millions sterling. The Home Government confirmed the proceedings of the Governor-General, and the King raised Lord Cornwallis to the rank of marquess.

Various events; death of Mahadājī Sindia. In 1793 the long war between France and England, caused by the French Revolution, began. In India the immediate result was the capture without difficulty of Pondicherry and the other French settlements. In the same year the charter of the East India Company was renewed for a period of twenty years, the Company's monopoly of trade being confirmed, with a small exception. While Lord Cornwallis, with the nominal help of the Peshwā, was crushing Tipū, the Marāthā chiefs in Northern India were fighting among themselves. Mahadājī Sindia in those days was the most powerful prince in the country, having made himself irresistible by means of an army

organized by the Savoyard, de Boigne, and other foreign officers. He inflicted a signal defeat on his rival Holkar, who also had utilized the services of European adventurers. In February, 1794, Mahadājī Sindia died suddenly, leaving to his son, Daulat Rāo, the dominant position in a large part of Mālwā and the Deccan, as well as in Hindustan, from the Sutlaj to Allahabad. In October, 1793, Lord Cornwallis quitted India, making over charge to his trusted colleague, Sir John Shore, and leaving behind him a high reputation for industry, dignity, honour, and integrity.

Administration of Sir John Shore; Sikhs and Afghans. Sir John Shore, a man of peace, failed to support the Nizām, and allowed that prince to be defeated decisively by the Marāthās under the direction of Nānā Farnavīs,[1] an able minister, at the battle of Kardlā in 1795. This weak policy of non-intervention dangerously enhanced the Marāthā power, and, of course, ensured the hostility of the Nizām. It also stimulated the ambition of Tipū, who sent embassies to the French, Afghans, and other powers, in the hope of forming a combination strong enough to expel the English from India. Shah Zamān, the ruler of Afghanistan, actually entered the Panjāb in 1797 and occupied Lahore, but luckily was compelled to retire quickly on account of a Persian attack on his western provinces. Ordinarily during this period the hostility between the Sikhs and the Afghans protected India from invasion through the north-western passes. Sir Alfred Lyall has pointed out that 'the effect was to maintain among the fighting powers in northern India an equilibrium that was of signal advantage to the English by preserving their north-west frontier unmolested during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a critical period when they were fully occupied by Mysore and the western Marāthās'.

[1] Farnavīs is a corruption of the Persian *far-navīs*, and means 'finance minister' in the Marāthā system of government.

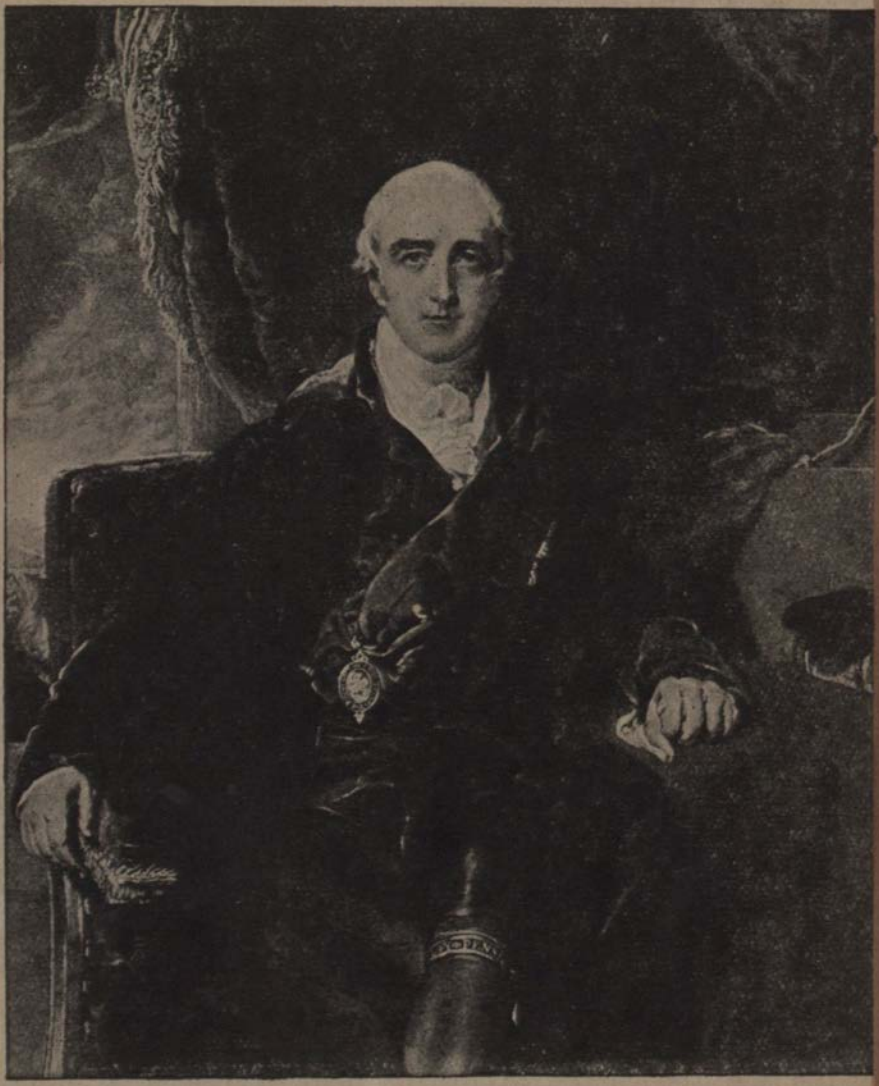
B.V.C. Bambridge, Oxford, 1908

CHAPTER XXVI

Lord Wellesley; fourth Mysore war; second Marāthā war; subsidiary alliances.

Lord Wellesley assumes charge, 1798. In May, 1798, Sir John Shore, who was created a peer as Lord Teignmouth, made way for a man of a different type, Richard, Baron Mornington in the peerage of Ireland, and Baron Wellesley in that of Great Britain, who had been for four years a member of the Board of Control. Lord Wellesley, when he assumed charge, was thirty-seven years of age, in the full vigour of his powers, and thoroughly well informed on Indian affairs as seen by the Home Government. His younger brother, Arthur, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington, already was serving at Madras in the army. The rule of Lord Wellesley, which lasted for a little more than seven years, until July, 1805, has been pronounced to have been 'the most memorable in the annals of the Company', and good reasons may be alleged in support of that opinion.

Preparations for war with Mysore. Immediately after his arrival the news of Tipū's intrigues with the revolutionary government of France determined him to crush the power of Mysore and to finish the work of Lord Cornwallis. The Governor-General's plans from the first were definite, comprising a march on the capital of Mysore, the seizure of the sultan's conquests in Malabar, the appointment of a British Resident at his court, the expulsion of all Frenchmen from his service, and the compulsion on him to defray the whole expense of the war. As a preliminary the Nizām, then much weakened by the Marāthā victory at Kardlā (*ante*, p. 188), was induced to accept a treaty which imposed on him the support of a British sepoy force of six thousand men, and required the dismissal of all the French officers in his employ. The Nizām took some part in the campaign, and was handsomely rewarded.



THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Fourth and last Mysore war, 1799; restoration of Hindu dynasty. The war when it came was short and sharp. General Harris took command on February 3, 1799, and on the 5th of the following month his troops entered Mysore. On the 4th of April Tipū lay dead inside the breach in the walls of Seringapatam, which had been stormed by General Baird and his men in seven minutes. Thus was fulfilled the saying that Haidar Ali was born to win, and Tipū to lose a kingdom. This one exploit practically ended the war, which had carried the Governor-General farther than he had anticipated. He had planned to bridle the power of Mysore, and found that he had utterly destroyed it. The sultan's territory was divided. The Company took Kanara, the entire sea-coast, and other districts which gave them an uninterrupted territory from sea to sea. The Nizām received a considerable amount of lands to the north, while the Marāthās were offered, on conditions which they declined, certain smaller areas adjoining their dominions. On their refusal, those lands were divided between the Nizām and the British.[1] The rest of the kingdom was assigned to a youthful representative of the old dynasty of Hindu Rājās, dispossessed by Haidar Ali. The new State thus constituted was placed under the control of a Resident. The young chief, Krishna Rājā Wodeyar, did well at first, but lapsed into evil ways, and in 1831 the Government of India was obliged to deprive him of all authority, and to confide the administration directly to British officers.

Rendition of Mysore, 1881. This arrangement, with various changes of form, lasted until 1881, when Lord Ripon felt justified in again making over the State to a native government. This event, known as the Rendition of Mysore, took place on the 25th of March, 1881, when Mahārāja Chāma Rajendra Wodeyar, adopted son of Krishna Rājā, was installed with befitting ceremony, and the disinterested good faith of the British Government was triumphantly vindicated. The

[1] The territories acquired by the Nizām in 1792 and 1799 were given up to the Company in 1800 to pay for the support of a subsidiary force.

subsequent excellent administration of the state has justified the confidence and generosity exhibited by Lord Ripon and the Home Government.

Significance of the destruction of Tipū's power. The splendid success of the Mysore war roused enthusiasm in all parts of British India, and the news was received in England with universal applause. The Governor-General was promoted to the rank of marquess, and endowed by the Directors of the Company with an annuity of £5,000 for twenty years. The destruction of Tipū's power was rightly recognized as being a serious blow to the schemes of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose dream of an Eastern empire was finally dissipated in August of the same year (1799) by Nelson's naval victory at the battle of the Nile.

Wellesley's policy; subsidiary alliances. The Mysore war finally pacified the south. The north and west continued to be unquiet in consequence of the domination of the restless Marāthā chiefs. Lord Wellesley aimed avowedly at the establishment of British supremacy in the whole of India, and so necessarily came into conflict with the Marāthā power. He sought to gain his end by a system of subsidiary alliances, which involved the subordination of the native princes to the British Government in all matters of external policy, the dismissal of officers belonging to other European nations, and the acceptance of the services of a contingent of troops under the orders of the Government of India, and usually paid by an assignment of territory.

Treaty of Bassein, 1802. The wars between the rival Marāthā chiefs gave the opportunity and created the necessity for British intervention. In 1795 Ahalyā Bāī, the saintly Marāthā lady who had guided the affairs of Holkar's dominions with wisdom and justice for nearly thirty years, died, and in the scramble for the succession which followed, Jaswant Rāo Holkar, a wild and unscrupulous leader of banditti, made himself master of the state. His defeat of the Peshwā, Bājī Rāo, at Poona in 1802 ensured that

prince to seek British protection, and to accept from Lord Wellesley a treaty of subsidiary alliance in the usual form. The document recording the agreement is known as the Treaty of Bassein, and marks the extinction of the independent power of the Peshwās. Daulat Rāo Sindia, who had succeeded the great Mahadājī in 1794, and the Bhonslā of Nāgpur, also known as the Rājā of Berār, at once prepared for war with the Company.

Second Marāthā war; Assaye, Laswāri, &c. General Arthur Wellesley defeated the army of Sindia, at least ten times more numerous than his own, at Assaye near Aurangabad, on Sept. 23, 1803. A little later the Bhonslā was defeated even more decisively at Argāon in Berār. The capture of the ancient Bahmanī fortress of Gāwilgarh, also in Berār, followed, and the Bhonslā was brought to his knees. By the Treaty of Deogāon he accepted a subsidiary alliance, and gave up the province of Cuttack (Katak) in Orissa. The war in Hindustan was in the competent hands of General Lake, who captured Aligarh, defeated the army under the command of Monsieur Perron, the successor of de Boigne (*ante*, p. 188), and entered Delhi in September, 1803. In the following month the remaining troops of Sindia were defeated at Laswāri in the Alwar state with great slaughter. By the Treaty of Surji Arjangāon, concluded at the end of the year, that prince surrendered all the territory in the Doāb between the Ganges and Jumna, recognized the rights of several Rājpūt chiefs, and submitted to a subsidiary alliance. Holkar remained to be subdued, and an expedition was sent against him, but he gained an unexpected advantage by the folly of Colonel Monson, a relative of his namesake, Hastings's opponent, who 'advanced without reason, and retreated in the same manner', losing five battalions and six companies. Holkar next suffered a severe defeat at Dīg (Deeg), but was not yet wholly subjugated. General Lake, who did not well understand siege operations, was repulsed in an attempt to storm the Jāt fort of Bhurtpore (Bharathpur) in 1805. The Rājā, although he

succeeded in holding the fort, submitted to a treaty. The titular emperor, poor old blind Shah Ālam, was handsomely pensioned, and all pretence of regarding him as a power in the land was avowedly dropped.

Recall of Lord Wellesley. The authorities at home had long been restive at Lord Wellesley's bold policy, which seemed to them needlessly expensive, and the tone of his dispatches was not calculated to soothe their feelings. The disaster suffered by Colonel Monson's force filled the cup, and on receipt of the news, the Directors and the Board of Control resolved to recall the Governor-General, and reverse his policy through the agency of Lord Cornwallis, who was persuaded to accept office at Calcutta for the second time. As has happened so often to timid governments, the event proved that the home authorities in seeking peace had been preparing war. Their shortsighted, although natural, caution plunged a large area of India into acute misery for many years, and resulted in a formidable war in the time of the Marquess of Hastings. Great Britain, having become the paramount power, could not enjoy the gains without assuming the duties of the position.

Lord Wellesley's internal reforms and character. The primary importance of Lord Wellesley's wars in settling the fate of India must not make us forget that the Governor-General was a scholarly man of many interests, as keen to devise internal reforms as he was determined to assert the inevitable British supremacy. The college founded by him at Fort William for the training of young civil servants was reduced by the Directors to the rank of a school of Oriental languages, but even as such it was a valuable institution. Calcutta is indebted to him for Government House, modelled on the lines of Lord Scarsdale's mansion at Kedleston, and for sundry civic improvements. In spite of his costly wars, he improved the public credit, and brought the finances into order with the aid of Mr. Tucker. Lord Wellesley's solid merits were to some extent obscured by his imperious temper,

a tendency to magniloquence in speech and writing, and an excessive fondness for ceremonial display. He lived until 1842, when he died at the age of eighty-two, having filled many important positions after his retirement from India.

Anglo-French Wars in Southern India.

First, 1745-8 : Madras captured by the French in 1745, restored to the English by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

Second, 1751–4 : Unofficial, France and England being at peace ; Clive's defence of Arcot.

Third, 1756–63 : An incident of the Seven Years' War in Europe ; Bussy and Lally ; battle of Wandiwash, 1760 ; siege and capture of Pondicherry, 1761 ; ended by the Peace of Paris, 1763.

Fourth, 1782–3 : Naval actions of Admiral Suffren ; landing of Bussy ; ended by the Peace of Versailles, 1783.

The armies led by French officers in Hindustan were destroyed by Lord Lake in 1803, when the British occupied Delhi.

Wars with Mysore.

First, 1767–9, ended by treaty dictated by Haidar Ali under the walls of Madras.

Second, 1780–4, ended by Treaty of Mangalore, based on mutual cession of conquests.

Third, 1790–2, ended by peace dictated by Lord Cornwallis under the walls of Seringapatam, which deprived Tipū of half his kingdom.

Fourth, March to May, 1799, ending in the death of Tipū, the capture of Seringapatam, and the partition of his kingdom, part of which was formed into a protected Hindu state.

CHAPTER XXVII

Lord Cornwallis again ; Sir George Barlow ; Lord Minto ; abolition of trade monopoly.

Lord Cornwallis ; Sir George Barlow ; and Lord Minto. Lord Cornwallis, when summoned to resume charge of the Indian Government in order to carry out the policy of non-intervention, was in the sixty-seventh year of his age and feeble health, and consequently unfitted for the task imposed upon him. He reached Calcutta on July 30, 1805, and having proceeded up country, died at Ghāzīpur on October 5. In the short interval he found time to address letters to the Directors

and Lord Lake expressing in distinct terms his resolve to reverse the policy of Lord Wellesley. He found a willing disciple in Sir George Barlow, the senior Member of Council, who succeeded him as Governor-General, pending an appointment from home. Ultimately Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, and great-grandfather of the present Viceroy (1909), was appointed Governor-General.

Mutiny of Vellore, 1806. Even Sir George Barlow could not bring himself to carry out the desire of the Directors to withdraw from the Treaty of Bassein (*ante*, p. 192), and to permit the resumption by the Peshwā of his old position as head of the Marāthā states. He also insisted on maintaining the control of the Resident over the policy of the Nizām. His period of rule was marked by the mutiny of the sepoys at Vellore, where the sons of Tipū had been assigned a residence. Those princes had been rashly allowed to assemble a following of eighteen hundred men, besides some three thousand other immigrants from Mysore. Such a gathering of refugees from a recently conquered kingdom, and close to its frontier, necessarily became a centre of disaffection, and encouraged the mutiny of the troops, which was provoked directly by injudicious orders prescribing a new form of turban and other matters of the kind. During the disturbances 113 Europeans, including fourteen officers, were massacred. The Directors blamed Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, for his policy, and recalled him, a decision which he always resented as unjust.

Travancore rebellion; mutiny of officers. The new Governor-General soon discovered that, whatever his prejudices and instructions might be, he could not avoid interference with the native states. In 1808 the minister of the Rājā of Travancore in the extreme south engaged in a mad rebellion, attacking the British Resident and murdering a surgeon and thirty-three privates of the 12th Regiment. The rising was put down early in the following year. During the same year (1809) much anxiety was caused by the mutinous conduct of the officers of the army of Madras, where Sir George Barlow had

been appointed Governor. Lord Minto went down to the south, but the trouble had passed before his arrival.

Bundelkhand. In Bundelkhand, as in Travancore, the Governor-General found the policy of non-intervention to be impracticable. The anarchy in that province, which had been ceded by the Marāthās, forced him to declare that 'it was essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundelkhand, but to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder'. The ensuing military operations resulted in the surrender of the fort of Ajaygarh and the capture of the famous fortress of Kālanjar after a difficult siege. The suppression of the growing Pindāri outrages in Central India, and the checking of Gūrkha and Burmese encroachments on the northern and north-eastern frontiers, were recognized by Lord Minto as necessary measures, but he was obliged to leave their execution to his successor, his own action in these matters being hindered by the disposition of the Home Government.

Lord Minto and the Sikhs. On the north-western frontier he acted with uncompromising firmness, and did not allow himself to be deterred by the non-intervention bogy from defining the line of the Sutlaj as the frontier separating the British dominions from those of Ranjit Singh, the lord of the Panjāb. We have already noticed the early history of the Sikh sect (*ante*, p. 152), which was gradually hammered into the shape of a nation by its conflicts with the Afghans during the eighteenth century. After the last invasion and withdrawal of Ahmad Shah Durrānī in 1767 the Sikhs occupied the country between the Jumna and Rāwalpindi. Their progress was then checked by the Marāthās, but when the Marāthā power in Hindustan was broken by Lord Lake in 1803 (*ante*, p. 193), some of the Sikh chiefs between the Sutlaj and the Jumna tendered their allegiance to the victor, and all looked to the British Government as their protector.

Rise of Ranjit Singh. At that time the Sikh community was organized into twelve sections or fraternities called *misls*.

One of these came under the rule of Ranjit Singh, who, in 1799, when nineteen years of age, helped Zamān Shah of Kābul in his invasion of the Panjāb. The Afghan ruler, who claimed the sovereignty of the country, appointed Ranjit Singh governor of Lahore. From that vantage ground the young chief gradually made himself master of the Panjāb and Kashmīr, retaining his power until his death in 1839. He followed the example of the more southern princes by engaging European adventurers to train his troops, and thus organized the fine army which fought the British so stoutly in 1846 and 1849.

Treaty of Amritsar, 1809. In 1809, encouraged by Sir George Barlow's non-intervention policy, Ranjit Singh claimed control of all the Sikh principalities between the Sutlaj and Jumna. Lord Minto, without waiting to refer home for orders, made up his mind that Ranjit Singh's pretensions could not be admitted without breach of faith to allies and imminent danger to the British possessions. The Sikh ruler naturally was unwilling to submit to dictation, but the arrival of a British army on the Sutlaj put an end to his hesitation, and on April 25, 1809, at Amritsar, he signed a brief treaty of fifteen lines establishing 'perpetual amity between the British Government and the State of Lahore'. During the remaining thirty years of his life Ranjit Singh observed this engagement with honourable fidelity. A British garrison was posted at Lūdiāna, which now became the frontier station, and so it happened that a Governor-General, appointed to carry out the non-intervention policy, practically advanced the British boundary from the Jumna to the Sutlaj.

Foreign missions outside India. During the whole of Lord Minto's term of office Great Britain was engaged in the deadly, world-wide struggle with Napoleon, in which the ruler of India had to take his share. His predecessors had extinguished the French power in India; Lord Minto made it his business to curb it in the adjoining countries and surrounding seas. His Panjāb policy was partly based on the fear of French interference, and the embassies sent by him under

Malcolm to Persia and Mountstuart Elphinstone to Kābul were decided on solely with the object of checkmating Napoleon's plans. A treaty with Persia was arranged, but the results hardly justified the heavy cost of the mission. The embassy intended for Kābul never arrived there in consequence of the deposition of Shah Shujā (Soojah), the Afghan ruler to whom it had been dispatched. We shall meet Shah Shujā again.

Expeditions by sea. Lord Minto's expeditions by sea were more fruitful, and testify to his broad grasp of political problems. In those days Mauritius and the neighbouring islands in the Indian Ocean to the east of Madagascar formed a French colony, which was used as the base of a privateer fleet to prey on Indian commerce. In the course of fifteen years the Mauritius privateers had plundered property of Calcutta merchants worth three millions sterling. The Governor-General determined to stop this, and in 1810 a fleet acting under his orders captured Mauritius and its dependencies. Mauritius still is a British Crown colony, but the island of Bourbon or Réunion was restored to France at the Peace of 1815. Lord Minto's expedition to Java and the Spice Islands, Dutch colonies then under French control, was even more daring and brilliantly successful. The Governor-General accompanied as a volunteer the force intended for the reduction of Java, which was under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty. Batavia, the capital of Java, was taken at the end of August, 1811, and the operations, naval and military, being admirably arranged, were successful at all points. The valuable conquests so gallantly won were unfortunately surrendered at the general peace.

Abolition of the Company's monopoly of the Indian trade. The renewal of the East India Company's charter granted in 1793 (*ante*, p. 187) was to hold good for only twenty years. As the end of the term fixed drew near a lively discussion took place, the Directors fighting to keep their monopoly, while the general public in Great Britain demanded liberty for all to take part in eastern commerce. In the end Parliament decided to throw open the Indian trade to all comers, while maintaining

the Company's exclusive rights in the China seas. On these terms the charter was renewed in 1813 for twenty years longer. At the same time permission was given for missionaries to enter India as freely as merchants, a reform also resisted strenuously by the Directors.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Lord Hastings: Nepalese, Pindāri, and Marāthā wars; Lord Amherst; first Burmese war.

The Earl of Moira, Marquess of Hastings. Lord Minto was succeeded by the Earl of Moira, better known by his later title as the Marquess of Hastings, who was fifty-nine years of age and had seen much service in high military and political employ. He came out full of the doctrines of the non-intervention school then in fashion, but he soon found himself constrained to act as a disciple of Lord Wellesley. He assumed charge on October 4, 1813, and ruled India until January, 1823, for nine years and a quarter, without rest or holiday. After his retirement he became Governor of Malta, where he died in November, 1826.

Result of non-intervention. Lord Minto, as we have seen, had done brilliant service for his country by defeating French hostility in foreign lands and beyond the seas, where he was able to act with a free hand. But within the limits of India his action had been hampered by instructions which he could not venture to disregard altogether. The result was the accumulation of internal difficulties and the tying of knots which must be cut by the sword. Lord Hastings, consequently, when he took over the reins of government, found 'seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of arms' thrust upon him, and six years of his term of office were spent in constant and unavoidable war.

Nepalese encroachments. The most pressing of the pending quarrels was that with the Gūrkhas of Nepāl, whose encroachments on British territory could not be longer endured. A Gūrkha chief having overcome the ancient principalities of

the valley of Nepāl in 1768, he and his successors subsequently extended their power over the whole hill region from the frontier of Bhutan on the east to the Sutlaj on the west, and constantly sought expansion of their dominion in the richer regions of the plains. The cession of the Gorakhpur territory by the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh in Lord Wellesley's time had brought the British boundary to the frontier of Nepāl, and unceasing difficulties arose on the border. Before 1813 the Nepalese had seized more than two hundred villages on the British side of the ill-defined frontier. Their annexation of the districts of Būtwal and Sheorāj brought the quarrel to a head, and their refusal of restitution made war inevitable. Hostilities began in October, 1814.

War with Nepāl, 1814–16. Lord Hastings, who was his own Commander-in-chief, worked out an excellent plan of operations, providing for the attack on the Gūrkha positions at four widely separated points. The British force was superior to the enemy in numbers, and, in spite of the difficult nature of the country, speedy success should have been secured but for the incapacity of most of the generals employed. One of them, General Gillespie, a brilliant officer, lost his life in making a rash frontal attack on a stockade contrary to orders, and three others muddled away their opportunities through sheer imbecility. Many lives were needlessly thrown away and little progress was made, except in Kumaon, where Colonels Nicholls and Gardner occupied Almora by a force of irregulars, and in the territories along the upper Sutlaj, which had been invaded by a force from Ludīana, under the command of General (afterwards Sir David) Ochterlony, a highly capable leader. In May, 1815, Ochterlony compelled the brave Gūrkha commander, Amar Singh, to surrender the fort of Malaon. The success of these operations inclined the Nepalese government to peace, and a treaty was signed. But on second thoughts the Darbār refused to ratify it and the war began again.

Treaty of Sagauli, 1816. In February, 1816, Ochterlony penetrated the hills by a daring night march and attained

a position threatening Kathmāndu, the capital. The Gūrkhas then gave in and the Treaty of Sagauli was signed in March. It provided for the cession by the Nepalese of Kumaon to the west of the Kālī river, their withdrawal from Sikkim, the surrender of most of the Tarāi, or lowlands below the hills, and the acceptance of a British Resident at the court of Kathmāndu. The treaty has been observed faithfully ever since, and friendship, although with considerable reserve, has been maintained unbroken between the contracting governments. The Gūrkha regiments recruited in Nepāl are a most valuable element in the Indian army, and during the troubled times of the Mutiny a Nepalese force gave welcome aid to the British authorities. The sites of the hill stations of Almora, Naini Tal, Mussoorie, Simla, &c., were acquired by the cession of Kumaon.

General unrest. The news of the British failures during the earlier stages of the Nepalese war excited every court in India and raised hopes of the expulsion of the foreigner. Ranjit Singh moved troops towards the Sutlaj, Amīr Khan, the leader of the roving Pathan bands in Rājputāna, watched events with a force of 30,000 men and 125 guns, while the Marāthā chiefs, the Peshwā, the Bhonslā of Nāgpur, Sindia, and Holkar, all began to arm. If the jealousies of these powers had permitted their effective combination at the right moment, the Governor-General had not the force to withstand them. But the 'Company's *ikbāl*', or good luck, prevailed; the effective combination did not take place, and each of the hostile powers were overcome in due course.

The Pindāris. Still more urgent than the danger from all those territorial powers was the peril caused by the Pindāri hordes of marauders, who, starting from a central position in Mālwā and the Narbadā valley, where they were loosely attached to the armies of Sindia and Holkar, ravaged India with fiendish cruelty from Gujarāt to Ganjām. The Pindāris, first heard of during the struggles between Sivājī and Aurangzeb, had grown enormously in numbers and strength

during the century of anarchy which followed the death of the Great Mogul.[1] They were bands of lawless men, drawn from all castes and classes, who took advantage of the absence of a strong government to make their living by organized plunder. Mounted on hardy ponies a body of two or three thousand men could cover fifty miles in a day, harry a district, and be far away with their booty long before any regular troops could appear. They worked in conjunction with the Marāthās, one division being specially connected with Holkar and another with Sindia. Towards the end of 1815 the Pindāris laid waste the Nizām's dominions as far south as the Kistna (Krishnā) river, and early in the next year ravaged the Northern Circars, which had enjoyed security for half a century. The Governor-General reported the case of a village in which the inhabitants had been driven to the

'desperate resolution of burning themselves with their wives and children. . . . Hundreds of women belonging to other villages have drowned themselves in the wells, not being able to survive the pollution they had suffered. All the young girls are carried off by the Pindāris, tied three or four, like calves, on a horse, to be sold. . . . They carried off booty to the value of more than a million sterling'.

Nevertheless, the authorities in England, fearing a war with Sindia, hesitated to permit the punishment of the villains, and their timidity was shared by Lord Hastings's councillors at Calcutta. But at last, early in 1817, the Council could no longer shirk the decision that 'vigorous measures for the suppression of the Pindāris had become an indispensable object of public duty'. Lord Hastings then took the necessary measures to organize his forces and to smooth their path by diplomacy.

Plan of campaign. The plan devised provided for the surrounding of the Pindāri lair in Mālwā, by a converging force of about 120,000 men, divided into eight sections or divisions, comprised in two armies, the southern under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, and the northern led by the Governor-General in person. The force, the largest ever

[1] The origin of the word Pindāri is uncertain.

collected up to that time under the British flag in India, was provided with 300 guns, and comprised about 13,000 Europeans. A skilful movement subjected Sindia to such pressure that he reluctantly signed a treaty binding him to assist the English, and the circle was closed round the Pindāris. But the operations of the Governor-General were much hindered by the sudden outbreak of an epidemic of cholera, and some of the ruffians broke through the line.[1]

Third Marāthā war. Operations were prolonged by a general rising of the Marāthā powers, excepting Sindia and the Gaikwār, and the hunt of the Pindāris became merged in the third Marāthā war. During November and December, 1817, the Peshwā, the Bhonslā, and Holkar successively took up arms. Bājī Rāo, the Peshwā, having been decisively beaten by a small British force at Kirkī near Poona (Nov. 13, 1817), was driven as a fugitive from his capital. The Bhonslā was defeated on the 26th of the same month at Sītābaldī, near Nāgpur, in one of the most brilliant actions ever fought; and Holkar was routed at Mahīdpur on the Sipra river, to the north of Ujjain (Dec. 21, 1817). Amīr Khan, the leader of the Pathan host of rovers, was induced to settle down as Nawāb of Tonk in Rājputāna, where his successors still flourish. Karīm Khan, one of the Pindāri leaders, was given an estate in Gorakhpur, still enjoyed by his descendants;[2] another leader, weary of being hunted, ended his life by poison, and Chītū, the most famous of all the bandit captains, was driven into a jungle, where he was killed by a tiger. On January 1, 1818, the Peshwā suffered another defeat at Koregāon near Poona, and, a few days later, yet another at Ashti, where his gallant general, Gokula, met a soldier's death. The Peshwā, who was no hero, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, whom he persuaded into promising him the extravagant pension of eight lakhs a year. With this allowance he was sent

[1] The common belief that cholera first appeared in India in 1817 is mistaken.

[2] Now in the Bastī District, separated from Gorakhpur in 1865.

into retirement at Bithūr, near Cawnpore. Nānā Sahib, notorious for his cruelty in the Mutiny, was the adopted son of Bājī Rāo, the last Peshwā. Lord Hastings, following the Mysore precedent, sought out a descendant of Sivājī, and presented him with a portion of the Marāthā dominion under the title of Rājā of Satārā. The rest of the country was annexed to the British dominions, and the Presidency of Bombay thus was extended to nearly its present dimensions in India Proper. The Bhonslā's territory also was annexed in part, and in part made a protected state. It now forms the Central Provinces. Holkar, treated with less severity, was allowed to retain the districts which constitute the State of Indore. The final operation in the war was the capture in 1819 of Asīrgarh, the famous stronghold in Khāndesh, but the contest was decided early in 1818.

Achievement of Lord Hastings. In the long roll of brilliant Governors-General the name of the Marquess of Hastings deserves a place of the highest honour in virtue of personal achievement. In October, 1817, he was confronted by forces of more than 150,000 men—Pindāris, Marāthās, and Pathans—with 500 guns. Four months later the power of Sindia was paralysed; that of Holkar broken; the Pathan armies of Amīr Khan and Ghafūr Khan had ceased to exist; the Rājā of Nāgpur was a captive; the Peshwā was a fugitive, and the Pindāris had disappeared. The campaign finally extinguished the Marāthā empire, at which Lord Wellesley had struck the first blow. This great and necessary work, by which countless millions were delivered from cruel tyranny, was done by Lord Hastings alone, in the teeth of opposition from colleagues and superiors.

Internal administration. The internal administration of the marquess was marked by notable progress. Laying down the maxim that 'it would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude', he

established and encouraged schools and colleges, and permitted the issue of the first vernacular newspaper. The 'ryotwari' settlement of the Madras territories was carried out by Sir Thomas Munro, and the imperial finances were administered with success and enhanced credit. Much was done to improve Calcutta; the ancient Jumna canal near Delhi (*ante*, p. 85) was reopened, and many other works of public utility were executed.

Lord Amherst; Barrackpore mutiny; Bhurtpore. The government was carried on for seven months after Lord Hastings's departure (January 1 to August 1, 1823) by Mr. Adam, the senior Member of Council. He was relieved by Lord Amherst, who, like most of the Governors-General, sought peace and found war. Before narrating the story of the Burmese war, the principal event of his term of office, we must notice the two other most memorable incidents—the mutiny at Barrackpore and the capture of Bhurtpore (Bharathpur). The mutiny of the 47th Native Infantry at Barrackpore, under the windows of the Governor-General's country house, caused by the unwillingness of the sepoys to proceed to Burma, was promptly suppressed (Oct., 1824). The operations against Bhurtpore arose out of a disputed succession to the principality, which rendered necessary the intervention of the Government of India. It is to be noted that on this occasion the Governor-General in Council stood forth avowedly as 'the paramount power and conservators of the general peace'. After a short siege the fortress, before which Lord Lake had failed in 1805 (*ante*, p. 193), was stormed by Lord Combermere, and the belief in its impregnability was destroyed (January, 1826).

First Burmese war. At about the same time as the English conquered Bengal, an adventurer named Alaungprā (Alompra) founded an aggressive dynasty in Burma (1752–60). He and his successors extended their conquests into Assam, Cāchār, and Manipur, and threatened the British frontier Districts of Sylhet and Chittagong. The Burmese had an unbounded conceit of themselves, and went so far as to require the Marquess of Hastings to surrender Eastern Bengal, includ-

ing Dacca and Murshīdābād. In 1824 their defiant seizure of a British outpost compelled Lord Amherst to declare war, which the Burmese awaited with eager confidence. The Governor-General, who did not possess his predecessor's military genius, was advised that the occupation of the port of Rangoon by a naval expedition would quickly prove decisive. The occupation was easily effected by a force sent from Madras, but sickness and the want of supplies crippled the troops. Assam was occupied early in 1825 by General Richards, but attempts to enter Burma overland failed, and a detachment was cut up at Rāmū on the Chittagong frontier. The campaign, as a whole, was badly planned, and much preventible loss was incurred; but ultimately, when Prome was occupied and the Burmese capital threatened, the king was forced to sue for peace. In February, 1826, the Treaty of Yandabo was signed, which ceded to Great Britain the provinces of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim. The king further agreed to abstain from all interference in Cāchār, Jaintia, and Manipur, and to pay an indemnity. Thus, in spite of many errors in planning and execution, the war ended in a triumphant success for British arms, and the acquisition of extensive provinces then little esteemed, but now recognized as possessing high value. The annexation closed up the north-eastern frontier of the empire and protected it against foreign aggression.

The Marāthā Wars.

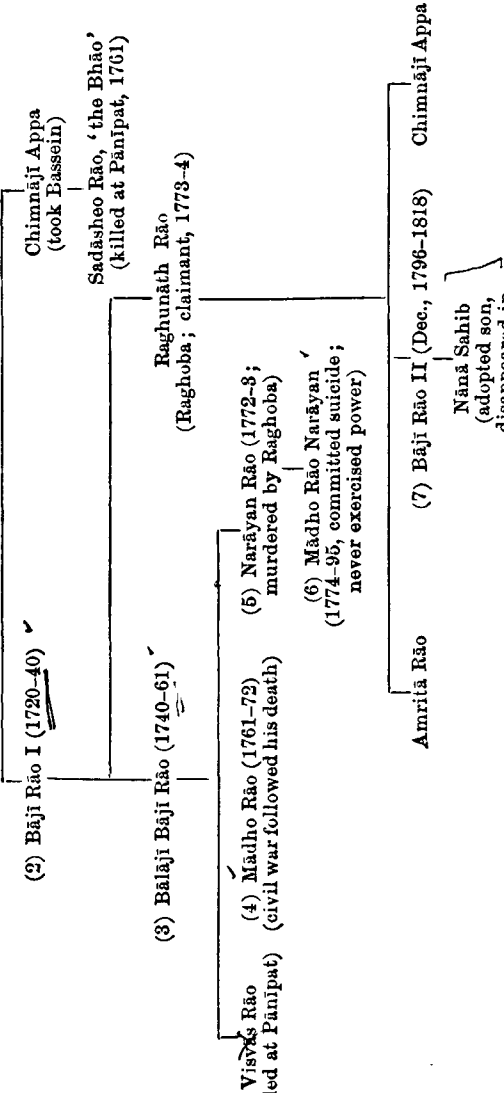
First, 1775–80: Warren Hastings Governor-General; Convention of Wargāon, 1778; capture of Gwalior, 1780; ended by Treaty of Sālbāi, 1782. (Some writers treat this war as two wars, namely, the first, up to the Treaty of Surat, and the second, from 1778 to 1782.)

Second, 1803: Lord Wellesley Governor-General; battles of Assaye, Argāon, and Laswāri; occupation of Delhi; ended by Treaty of Surji Arjangāon.

Third, 1817–19: Lord Hastings Governor-General; battles of Kirkī, Sītabaldī, Mahīdpur, Ashti, and Koregaon; ended by capture of Asīrgarh, and general pacification by nineteen treaties.

Sindia was subsequently defeated in 1843.

THE FAMILY OF THE SEVEN PESHWĀS


(1) Bālāji Visvanāth (1707–20)
(2) Bāji Rāo I (1720–40)
Chimnāji Appa (took Bassein)
Sadāsheo Rāo, 'the Bhāo' (killed at Pānipat, 1761)
(3) Bālāji Bāji Rāo (1740–61)
Raghunāth Rāo (Raghoba; claimant, 1773–4)
Visvās Rāo (killed at Pānipat)
(4) Mādho Rāo (1761–72) (civil war followed his death)
(5) Narāyan Rāo (1772–3; murdered by Raghoba)
(6) Mādho Rāo Narāyan (1774–95, committed suicide; never exercised power)
Amritā Rāo
(7) Bāji Rāo II (Dec., 1796–1818)
Chimnāji Appa
Nānā Sahib (adopted son, disappeared in 1858)

CHAPTER XXIX

Lord William Bentinck: reforms; Charter of 1833; Sir Charles Metcalfe and the press.

Lord William Bentinck. After the departure of Lord Amherst, Mr. Butterworth Bayley acted as Governor-General until the arrival, in July 1828, of Lord William Bentinck, who had been recalled from Madras twenty-one years earlier, and had since held various appointments. The India of 1828 was very different from the India of 1807, and Lord William, during his long term of office, nearly seven years, was able to devote himself almost exclusively to the business of internal administration and reform. When he became Governor-General the only independent powers left in India were the Sikhs of the Panjāb and the Amīrs of Sind, whose subjugation was reserved for his successors. The friendship between the Government of India and Ranjīt Singh was solemnly affirmed in 1831, when Lord William Bentinck met the Sikh potentate at Rūpar on the Sutlaj with splendid ceremony.

Annexation of Cāchār and Coorg; Mysore. But even the most peaceful of the rulers of India was unable to escape the necessity for small annexations. The Rājā of the principality of Cāchār, to the east of Sylhet, given up by the Burmese under the provisions of the Treaty of Yandabo, having been murdered and leaving no heirs, the Governor-General acceded to the prayers of the inhabitants and annexed the country. It now forms a district in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and is largely occupied by European tea-planters. The little province of Coorg, lying between Mysore and the Malabar coast, had the misfortune to come under the rule of a mad Rājā, who treated his people with ferocious cruelty and exterminated all his male relatives. Lord William Bentinck was obliged to occupy the province, and with the full consent of the people to depose the Rājā in May, 1834. Coorg is now governed by a Commissioner, subordinate to the Resident of

Mysore as Chief Commissioner under the Government of India.

The action of Lord William's government in Mysore has been noticed above (*ante*, p. 191).

Opinions on Lord William's policy. In dealing with the protected states Lord William Bentinck showed hesitation and was not always successful, but the significance of his term of office lies in his internal administration of which we must now give a brief account. Like all reformers he excited bitter hostility, which has found expression in Thornton's *History*, but general opinion has settled down to a favourable verdict on his policy, and on the whole endorses the eulogium recorded in the inscription on his statue at Calcutta, composed by Lord Macaulay, his friend and colleague, which extols him as the man who 'ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence', and 'whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge'.

Finance. The Burmese war having caused a deficit of a million sterling, the Governor-General was constrained to pay close attention to finance. Additions to revenue were obtained by improved organization of the opium monopoly and by the revision of land settlements in the Agra provinces and in Madras. The precedent of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was not followed in either the north or the south. The Madras assessments had been made under the able supervision of Sir Thomas Munro on the 'ryotwari' system of direct contracts between the Government and the cultivators for a term of years. The assessments of the Agra or North-Western Provinces were generally confirmed for thirty years, and the contracts were made, not with large proprietors as in Bengal, but with the village zemindars, or their representatives.

Army, &c. Extensive economies were effected in both the civil and military services. The cessation of war gave opportunities for profitable retrenchments, and in 1831 Lord William Bentinck took a free hand by assuming the office of Com-

mander-in-Chief in addition to that of Governor-General. His studies of military organization led him to form a poor opinion of the Indian army, which he stigmatized in a confidential minute as 'the least efficient and most expensive in the world'. The events of the Mutiny in 1857 proved that Lord William understood the defects of the Indian system much better than most people. He appreciated the strategical advantages given by steam power in navigation, at that time a novelty, and did much to develop communication with Europe by the Red Sea and Suez route. He also formed a just estimate of the importance of Singapore in Malacca, acquired finally by treaty with the Dutch in 1824, and made it the capital of the Straits Settlements. Constant tours enabled Lord William to exercise supervision over all branches of the administration and to acquire personal knowledge of local needs.

Prohibition of suttee. The most famous reform associated with his name is the prohibition of suttee (*satī*), enacted in 1829. The Regulation declared 'the practice of suttee, or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts', and pronounced it to be 'revolting to the feelings of human nature, and nowhere enjoined by the religion of the people as an imperative duty'. The practice had attained terrible prevalence in Bengal, where in some years eight hundred or more women had been sacrificed, and the only strenuous opposition to Lord William's measure came from Bengal. A better feeling on the subject exists now, and it is to be hoped that it is no longer necessary to defend the prohibition.

Thuggee. Another social reform was effected by the suppression of thuggee (*ṭhagī*), the practice of wholesale strangling for the sake of plunder by strong armed gangs who infested the highways of northern and central India and inveigled unwary travellers to their death. About two thousand of the Thugs were arrested, and an elaborate system of detection was organized, under the control of Major (Sir William) Sleeman, which extirpated the system almost completely.

Employment of Indians and judicial reforms. Lord William Bentinck's judicial reforms and arrangements for the employment of natives of the country in appointments hitherto reserved for Europeans were intimately associated with his financial economies. The practical exclusion of the native races from all official employment except of the most humble kind, which was the blot on the arrangements of Lord Cornwallis, had, in addition to its other demerits, the objection of inordinate expense. Lord William's measures threw open to Indian candidates respectable employment in the judicial and executive service, with the ultimate result that now Indian judges have seats in all the High Courts, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the bulk of the judicial business of the country is done by the natives of it, only a comparatively small proportion of the appointments being held by European officers. The dilatory Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit were abolished and replaced by a more workable system.

English education. Important as were the reforms indicated in the preceding pages, some observers give an even higher place to 'the momentous decision to make the English language the official and literary language' of the country, and regard that decision as the event which makes the administration of Lord William Bentinck a landmark in Indian history. Previous Governors, Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Hastings especially, had not been unmindful of the claims of Oriental literature on the attention of the rulers of India, but the idea of a general system of education was first brought forward during the discussions concerning the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833. Among other things, the new Charter provided for the appointment of a Law Member to the Governor-General's Council. The first holder of the office was Mr. Thomas (Lord) Macaulay, afterwards famous as the historian of England. His influence decided the Government, as against the advocates of purely Oriental learning, to accept his view that 'it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to

be directed'. The possibility has been abundantly demonstrated, and the existing system of education in India is based on the lines laid down by Macaulay. That system is open to much criticism, but few of its critics will dispute the propriety of the decision to make the English language the vehicle for higher instruction.

The Charter of 1833. In 1813 the Indian trade had been thrown open to all comers (*ante*, p. 200), and the Company had been allowed to retain its monopoly only in the commerce with China. As the time approached for another renewal of the Charter, reform of all kinds was in the air, the English Reform Act having been passed in 1832, and it was clear that the last vestige of monopoly must go. The main question at issue was whether the Crown should take over the direct administration of the Indian Empire, now an established fact, or continue to exercise its powers through the medium of the Company. The ministry of the day not feeling ready to take over the direct government, Parliament preferred to continue the use of the Company's machinery. But the Company ceased to exist as a commercial body; its assets were bought at a valuation, and its organization became merely an extra wheel in the mechanism of the imperial Government. That was the main effect of the legislation of 1833, but other important changes were effected. The Government of India was now formally empowered to legislate, and its statutes were given the title of Acts instead of Regulations. At the same time Madras and Bombay were deprived of the legislative power,[1] and, as already mentioned, a Law Member was added to the Governor-General's Council. A commission was appointed to devise a system of Anglo-Indian law, and after many years its labours resulted in the existing Codes. The North-Western Provinces (the Agra provinces) were formed into a fourth Presidency, but soon afterwards they were reduced to the standing of a Lieutenant-Governorship. Europeans were permitted to hold lands, and a declaration was recorded that 'no

[1] Afterwards restored.

native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour'. As everybody knows, the liberty so granted has been freely used, and two Indians now sit on the Secretary of State's Council, which takes the place of the Court of Directors under the Charters of 1813 and 1833.

Eminent men of the period. The review of Lord William Bentinck's memorable administration may be closed by mentioning the names of some of the illustrious men, British and Indian, who adorned the period. Mountstuart Elphinstone's Indian career ended in the year of Lord William's arrival, when he was succeeded as Governor of Bombay by Sir John Malcolm. Elphinstone's history of India during the Muhammadan period has not been superseded, and Malcolm's account of Central India and other works are still standard authorities. James Prinsep laid the foundation for the scientific study of Indian antiquities and early history; Horace Hayman Wilson and other scholars handed on the torch of Sanskrit learning received from the hands of Sir William Jones and Colebrooke. Colonel James Tod, author of the inimitable *Annals of Rajasthan*, retired in 1823 and died twelve years later. Another famous historian of the period is Grant Duff, who told the story of the Marāthās. His namesake, the Rev. Alexander Duff, was one of many eminent missionaries who were the pioneers of education in India. Rājā Rāmmohan Rāi, the founder of the Brahmo Samāj, died in England in 1833; and Isvar Chandra Gupta, editor of a Bengali newspaper in 1830, is famous as a poet in his mother tongue.

Sir Charles Metcalfe and the press. The short term of office of Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the ablest of the Company's servants, who held charge pending the arrival of Lord William Bentinck's successor, is memorable for the Act repealing all restrictions on the press, which at that time was almost wholly confined to Calcutta and in European hands. The censorship, introduced during the French wars in order to prevent com-

munication of intelligence to the enemy, was withdrawn in 1818 by Lord Hastings, and replaced by the issue of rules, which editors were required to obey. Mr. Adam, who deported the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, made the rules more stringent. Lord William Bentinck, while making no change of system and maintaining that the press should be subject to 'rigid control', ordinarily allowed the journalists a free hand. Sir Charles Metcalfe, believing in absolute freedom, passed an Act applicable to the whole of India, removing all checks on the press. Recent experience having shown the dangers of 'the liberty of unlicensed printing', both the Government of India and the protected States have been obliged to reimpose certain restrictions.

CHAPTER XXX

Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, and Hardinge: first Afghan war; conquest of Sind; war with Sindia; first Sikh war.

Lord Auckland; first Afghan war. Changes in the English ministry caused some delay in choosing a successor to Lord William Bentinck. Ultimately the choice fell on Lord Auckland, a respectable Whig politician, who arrived in Calcutta on March 5, 1837. In Lord Minto's time, when Napoleon was at the height of his power and the Czar of Russia was his humble servant, embassies had been sent from Calcutta to Kābul, Sind, and Persia with the object of securing the north-western frontier against French ambition working through Russian agency. When Lord Auckland came out Napoleon was dead, French dreams of interference in the affairs of Asia had vanished, and Russia had recovered freedom of action. She had used that freedom on her own behalf to extend her dominion in Central Asia to the east of the Caspian Sea and to acquire a commanding influence at the court of Persia. The Russian advance was regarded by some politicians as a menace to India, and when the Persians besieged Herat,

Lord Auckland was much alarmed. He came to the conclusion that the best way to check Russia was to support Shah Shujā, then living as an exile in the Panjāb (*ante*, p. 199), in his claim to the Afghan throne, at that time occupied by Dost Muhammad Barakzai, who was believed to be under Russian influence. In 1838 a 'tripartite treaty' was drawn up between the Government of India, Shah Shujā, and Ranjit Singh, and an army was sent into Afghanistan. The troops advanced through both the Bolān and Khyber passes with great difficulty, and occupied Kandahar, Ghaznī, and Kābul. Dost Muhammad surrendered, and Shah Shujā was enthroned. But the Afghans did not want him, and in 1841 they rose, murdered Sir William Macnaghten, the Political Agent, and forced the British out of Kābul. The English commanders were incompetent, the troops lost heart, and in January, 1842, the entire Kābul force of about 15,000 souls, including followers, was utterly destroyed, excepting about 120 prisoners and one officer, Dr. Brydon, who made his way to Jalālabad, where General Sale held out.

Lord Ellenborough; the avenging army. In consequence of this disaster the Home Government recalled Lord Auckland, and appointed in his place Lord Ellenborough. After some hesitation he sanctioned the advance of General Nott from Kandahar and General Pollock through the Khyber to Kābul. The great bazaar there was blown up, the prisoners were recovered, and the avenging army returned to India. Meantime Shah Shujā had been killed, and the Government of India wisely resolved not to meddle any more in Afghanistan. Everybody is now agreed that Lord Auckland's policy was mistaken. Lord Ellenborough welcomed the returning army with unbecoming festivities and bombastic proclamations, which produced an unfavourable impression in India and Europe.

Conquest of Sind. The Governor-General, who was dissatisfied with the Amīrs of Sind for their conduct during the Afghan war, was anxious to annex that province, and his

sentiments were shared by his agent, Sir Charles Napier, who conducted the negotiations with the chiefs in a provocative spirit, which goaded the people into open hostility. In February, 1843, the Residency was attacked by a mob of Balūchis, and war began. The Amīrs having been defeated in a fiercely contested battle at Miānī, near Hyderabad, and in other fights, the country was annexed and subsequently attached to the Presidency of Bombay. The military operations were well managed, but the policy which led to the war cannot be justified. The annexation was followed by mutinies of the sepoy regiments stationed in the province, which were dealt with in a feeble fashion.

Gwalior affairs. About the same time trouble arose in Gwalior, owing to the death of Jankajī Sindia without issue. A son having been adopted by the widow, Tārā Bāi, a regent was appointed with the sanction of the Government of India. Palace intrigues expelled the regent, and the Resident was obliged to withdraw. The peace of the country being threatened by the arrogance of the Gwalior army, which was too strong for the state, Lord Ellenborough and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, brought up troops as a precaution, and demanded the reduction of the local force. Negotiations failed, and the inevitable conflict took place at Mahārājpur, near Gwalior (December 29, 1843). The army of Sindia was defeated after a hard fight, and on the same day another battle took place at Paniār. The requisite steps were then taken to ensure the subordination of the Gwalior state to the paramount power, but no territory was annexed.

Sir Henry Hardinge (Lord Hardinge). The Directors, with good reason, being dissatisfied with Lord Ellenborough's conduct of affairs, recalled him, and appointed in his place Sir Henry Hardinge, a distinguished military officer, who was fifty-nine years of age, and, like all his predecessors, came out as the friend of peace. But, like most of them, he found his business to be not peace, but war. From the moment of his arrival he was compelled to take precautions against the

threatening attitude of the Sikh army in the Panjāb, and to strengthen the garrisons on the frontier.

The Sikhs after Ranjit Singh's death. When Ranjit Singh died in 1839, during the Afghan war, he was nominally succeeded by his imbecile son, Kharak Singh. A series of intrigues and murders ensued, which resulted in the proclamation as Mahārāja of Dulīp Singh, a child five years of age, reputed to be a son of Ranjit Singh. But all real authority was in the hands of the *panchāyats*, or committees, controlling the army of the Khālsā, as the Sikh community was called. At last the Rānī, the mother of Dulīp Singh, and two of her friends, Lāl Singh and Tej Singh, were constrained to tempt the army which they could not control by the promise of the plunder of Delhi, and to give the order to cross the Sutlaj. Early in December, 1845, a force of 60,000 Sikhs, with numerous camp followers and guns, crossed the river, the boundary fixed by Lord Minto in 1809, and so declared war.

Four battles, 1845–6. On December 18, 1845, the British army, taken by surprise and attacked at Mudkī (Moodkee), was victorious, but at a heavy cost. Three days later, the same force, strengthened by fresh troops, attacked the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozeshah (properly Pharūshahr), in the Fīrōzpur district about twelve miles from the Sutlaj. The battle lasted for two days, and after a desperate struggle, in which the British army lost 2,415 in killed and wounded, the entrenchments were carried and the Sikhs compelled to retreat. In this battle the Governor-General, in order to encourage the men, chivalrously served as second in command to Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief. Five of his aides de camp were killed, and four wounded. A few days later a third battle was fought at Aliwāl in the Ludiāna district, and again the Sikhs were worsted. The fourth and final struggle took place at Sobrāon on the bank of the Sutlaj, where the Sikhs were strongly entrenched and defended by powerful artillery. They were driven into and across the river with a loss of about 8,000 men. The casualties on the British side also were

heavy, nearly 2,400. Thus, in less than two months four great battles had been fought and won, and the Panjāb lay at the disposal of the victors. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief received peerages, and honours never were more hardly earned or better deserved.

Treaties of Lahore. Lord Hardinge did not wish to annex the whole province, nor at the time had he the means to do so. A treaty concluded at Lahore stipulated for the reduction of the Sikh army and the surrender of the guns used in the war. Major Henry Lawrence was left at the capital with a British force, and after a short time a fresh treaty was drawn up providing for a regency under British control during the Mahārāja's minority. Gulāb Singh, an upstart chief who was already in possession of Kashmīr, was guaranteed in his position as ruler of that country on payment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. The Sikhs thus lost the control of the hill regions, and were further weakened by the cession to the Company of the tract between the Sutlaj and Biās. At the beginning of 1848 Lord Hardinge returned to England, and was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie.

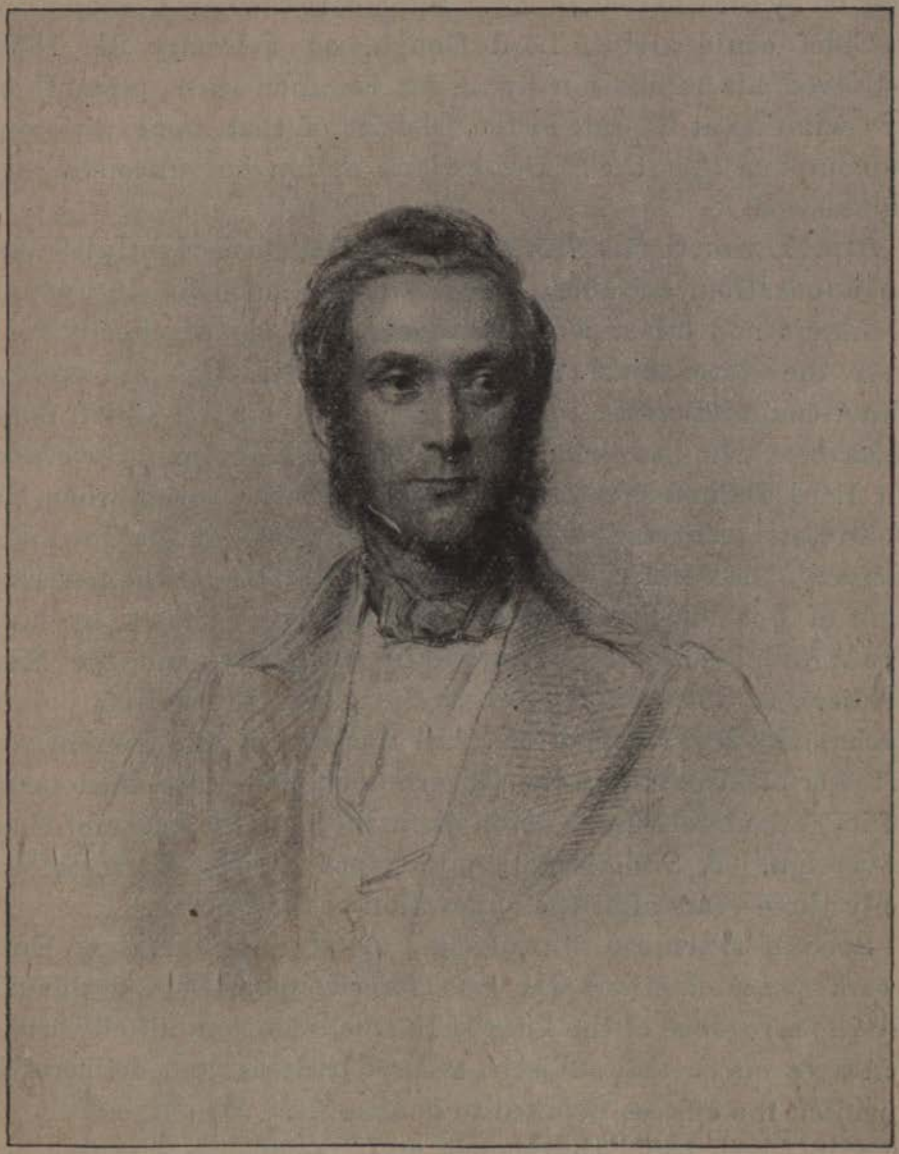
Civil reforms. Amid the clash of arms the voice of the reformer is little heard. The whole history of Lord Auckland's administration is contained in that of the Afghan disaster, but some civil progress was effected in the time of his successors. Lord Ellenborough's Government carried out two notable reforms, the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of state lotteries. Lord Hardinge is entitled to the credit of having pushed on the construction of the Ganges Canal, and taken effective steps to check the practice of suttee in the protected states.

CHAPTER XXXI

Lord Dalhousie: second Sikh war; second Burmese war; doctrine of lapse; annexations; material progress.

Lord Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie, a brilliant young Scotch nobleman with some official experience, and only thirty-five years of age, took over charge at Calcutta in January, 1848, receiving from his predecessor an assurance that so far as human foresight could predict, 'it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come.' A year later the Governor-General's army fought the Sikhs in two deadly battles, and the Panjāb became British territory. Then for three years there was peace, followed by the second Burmese war and the annexation of Pegu. Such is human foresight.

Second Sikh war; battles of Chilianwāla and Gujrāt. The arrangements made by Lord Hardinge on the lines of the Wellesley policy for the government of the Punjāb, obviously unstable, temporary makeshifts, did not last long. The trouble began at Multān, held by a governor named Mūlrāj in practical independence. He resigned his office when the new administration came into power, and two young British officers were sent to take over charge. Disputes having arisen, the officers were attacked and murdered, and Mūlrāj went into open rebellion. The revolt quickly spread over the whole province and war became inevitable. 'Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example,' said the Governor-General in October, 'the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance.' They got it. Multān, after a gallant defence, was taken on January 28, 1849, Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, having fought a bloody battle at Chilianwāla, on the Jihlam, on the 13th. The conflict has been described as 'an evening battle fought by a brave old man in a passion', and there is no doubt that Lord Gough blundered deplorably. The Sikh army retired a short distance, but the British lost four guns and the colours of three



MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE

regiments. Both sides claimed the victory, and the best that can be said is to call the contest a drawn battle. The authorities in England justly blamed Lord Gough, and ordered his supersession by Sir Charles Napier. But before the new Commander-in-Chief could arrive, Lord Gough, on February 21, 1849, retrieved his reputation by using common-sense precautions and winning at Gujrāt, in the District of that name, a victory so complete that the Sikhs had no option but unconditional submission.

Annexation of the Panjāb. Lord Dalhousie rightly decided on annexation, suitable provision being made for the young Mahārāja and other people with claims. He practically took over the government himself, working through a board of three commissioners, replaced after a time by a Chief Commissioner, who has since developed into a Lieutenant-Governor. In Lord Dalhousie's time the real authority, even when Sir John Lawrence was Chief Commissioner, vested in the Governor-General, the local ruler being his agent. Under the fostering care of Lord Dalhousie and the able officers chosen by him, the province rapidly advanced in prosperity, and the Sikh soldiers, who had fought so bravely against the British power, became its loyal supporters. In the Mutiny the Panjāb was a tower of strength to the Government, and since then many of its gallant sons have given their lives in the cause of their sovereign. A Sikh battalion took part in the Burmese war only three years after the annexation of the Panjāb.

Second Burmese war, 1852. After an interval of three years' peace another war was forced upon Lord Dalhousie by the arrogance of the king of Burma, who committed various outrages on British subjects, refused redress, and deliberately insulted the officers deputed to demand it. War was declared, and in April, 1852, the pagoda at Rangoon was captured and the town occupied. The taking of Prome followed in October, and in December the war was ended by a proclamation annexing the province of Pegu, the inhabitants of which eagerly accepted deliverance from Burmese cruelties. No treaty was made

because the court of Ava declined to negotiate. The conduct of the operations presented a strong contrast to the proceedings of 1826 under the feeble guidance of Lord Amherst. Lord Dalhousie saw to everything himself, and took care that everything should be well done.

The doctrine of lapse. No ruler of India surpassed, or perhaps equalled Lord Dalhousie in strength of will, love of justice, and devotion to duty. He gave his life to India and his country. He came out a young man in his prime; after eight years of office he returned a cripple on crutches, fit only for death, which was not long delayed. Those eight years were crowded with unceasing labours, dedicated in large part to the affairs of the native states. The system of subsidiary alliances started by Lord Wellesley and continued by his successors, was a necessary stage in the relations between the protected states and the paramount power, but by the middle of the nineteenth century it had served its purpose. Nearly all the princes who occupied their thrones under British protection abused their powers, lived lives of selfish indulgence, and misgoverned their subjects. Lord Dalhousie, therefore, was convinced that the subjects of any native state would benefit immensely by the substitution of direct British government for the rule of a licentious prince, freed by the shield of the paramount power from the restraints imposed by the fear of revolt. Wherever he turned—to Oudh, the Panjāb, or elsewhere—he found the same abuses. He was thus led, in the interests of the people, to act systematically on the doctrine of lapse, that is to say, he refused to acknowledge the right of a childless Rājā or Nawāb to pass on the sovereignty of his state to an adopted son, and held that in such a case the sovereignty lapsed to the paramount power. The doctrine was already well established in principle, but Lord Dalhousie applied it with greater strictness than his predecessors. The question first arose with reference to Satārā, the small Marāthā principality created by Lord Hastings, which was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in the first year of his rule, on the principle

above stated. That principle subsequently was applied in the cases of Jhānsī, Nāgpur, the relic of the Bhonslā dominion, and in several others of minor importance. It was also invoked to stop the large pension paid to the ex-Nawāb of the Carnatic. The refusal to continue to the Nānā Sahib of Bithūr, adopted son of Bājī Rāo, the ex-Peshwā, who died in 1851, the pension of eight lakhs granted by Lord Hastings (*ante*, p. 205) was not a case of the application of the doctrine of lapse, for Sir John Malcolm had expressly declared the allowance to Bājī Rāo to be a 'life pension'; and as such it died with him. The Nānā Sahib, as adopted son, admittedly inherited twenty-eight lakhs of rupees, and, as an act of favour, was given a *jāgīr* besides. He had not any just grievance. In all cases where the doctrine of lapse of sovereignty was enforced, the adopted son inherited under Hindu law the private property of the deceased, and the Nānā Sahib received in full everything to which he was entitled. On the 4th of November, 1859, at Cawnpore, Lord Canning announced the withdrawal of the doctrine of lapse, and assured the assembled princes that in future adopted sons would be recognized as heirs to the states.

Annexations otherwise than by lapse or conquest. A portion of Sikkim on the north-eastern frontier was annexed as punishment for the Rājā's ill-treatment of Dr. (Sir John) Hooker and another officer. Sambhalpur, on the south-west of Bengal, was taken over in accordance with the wish of the deceased Rājā, who deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. Oudh was annexed during the closing days of Lord Dalhousie's rule, in consequence of the persistent misgovernment of the country. This drastic measure was taken by express order of the home authorities, and in opposition to the Governor-General's recommendation that the king, in special consideration of the faithfulness of his dynasty to the English alliance, might be maintained in his royal state and dignity, the administration being taken over by the Government of India. The rulers of Oudh, who were allowed to assume the

title of king in 1819, had misgoverned the country for a century, and had uniformly refused to listen to the remonstrances pressed by Lord William Bentinck, Lord Hastings, and a long succession of Residents. Sir William Sleeman's *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh*, 1849-50, gives an appalling picture of the state of the country, which formed an ample moral basis for the decision to annex.

Internal reform; material progress. Modern India dates from the time of Lord Dalhousie, whose activity was so manifold that it is not possible to give here more than a bare list of his innovations and reforms. India owes to him her Public Works Department, the completion of the Ganges Canal, railways, telegraphs, cheap postage, trunk roads, and educational system. If the reader will try to realize what India would be like without these things he will appreciate the merit of Lord Dalhousie.

The Governor-General was busy considering the subject when he received the educational dispatch from the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax), 'containing a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the local or the Supreme Government could have ventured to suggest.' This celebrated document provided for the establishment of vernacular schools in all Districts, colleges, aided schools, and universities. Lord Dalhousie took action under it without delay, and organized the Department of Public Instruction. The Charter of the East India Company was renewed for the last time in 1853, not for any specific period, but during the pleasure of Parliament. The system of government established in 1833 was continued, with the exceptions that certain changes were made in the constitution of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General was relieved of the charge of Bengal and Bihār, a Lieutenant-Governor being provided, and the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Directors, the appointments being thrown open to public competition.

CHAPTER XXXII

Lord Canning: the Mutiny; the Queen's Proclamation.

Lord Canning. Lord Canning, son of Mr. George Canning, who was Prime Minister in 1827, relieved Lord Dalhousie on the last day of February, 1856, and remained in office for a little more than six years, until March, 1862. Like Lord Dalhousie, he wore himself out in the service of his country, and returned home only to die. When he assumed charge of the government, England was involved in wars with Persia and China, and the Home Government required India to contribute contingents of European troops, which the country could not spare. The troubles which ensued were largely the result of the reduction of the European garrison of India below the safety point.

Unrest. The history of Lord Canning's administration is the story of the Mutiny, its suppression, and the consequent reorganization. Unrest was in the air when he arrived. The annexation of Oudh, however justifiable on moral grounds, undoubtedly had unsettled men's minds and displeased the Bengal army, which was largely recruited from the ex-king's dominions. England, only just emerging from the long Crimean war with Russia, found herself engaged in lesser conflicts with Persia and China, and it seemed to the numerous classes in India who were dissatisfied for one reason or another with the British rule, that the power of the Government was shaken and might be defied. They could not realize the existence of hidden reserves of strength.

The Mutiny. A panic in the sepoy army was caused in January, 1857, by the discovery that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle had been greased with animal fat, and that the purity of the sepoy's caste was consequently endangered. The authorities did their best to remedy the blunder ignorantly committed, but the alarm extended throughout the army, and was not to be allayed, the men believing that the Government intended to force them to become Christians. Trouble began

with incendiary fires at Barrackpore, followed by mutinies there and at Berhampore, the cantonment of Murshīdabad. In distant Umballa, too, fires in the lines indicated the rebellious spirit of the troops. The decisive outbreak occurred at Meerut on May 10, when the native regiments broke out, burnt the station, murdered Christians, and set off for Delhi. The commanding officer, an imbecile old man, allowed the revolted regiments to escape and occupy the ancient capital, where the Christian population was slaughtered, and the sepoys tendered their allegiance to the titular emperor, Bahādur Shah. Within a month nearly every regiment between Allahabad and the Sutlaj had mutinied, and in most districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh civil government was at an end. Those days are still remembered as 'the time of disorder' (*ghadr* or *balwā kā wakt*).

Cawnpore. At Cawnpore, on June 27, General Wheeler, after a gallant defence of an untenable entrenchment, was compelled to surrender on terms, which were immediately violated. All the prisoners, men, women, and children, were barbarously massacred under the orders of the Nanā Sahib of Bithūr, adopted son of the late Peshwā (*ante*, p. 205), who caused himself to be proclaimed Peshwā on July 1.

Lucknow. The small European garrison and population of Lucknow held out in the Residency, under the command of Sir Henry Lawrence, until he was killed on July 4, and afterwards of his successor, Brigadier-General Inglis. On September 25 Generals Outram and Havelock with a relieving force fought their way into the Residency through the streets of the city, and brought a welcome reinforcement to the hard-pressed defenders, who were finally delivered by Sir Colin Campbell in November, after standing a siege for five months with unsurpassed heroism. The defence had been materially aided by a small number of gallant, loyal sepoys, who remained 'true to their salt'.

Rānī of Jhānsī and Tantia Topi. The troops which relieved the Residency at Lucknow were obliged to withdraw

from the city in order to rescue Cawnpore from the hands of the Gwalior contingent, 25,000 strong, which held that place. Sir Colin gained a complete victory on December 6 over the Marāthā rebel leader, Tantia Topi, who then united the remnant of his forces with those of the Rānī of Jhānsī. The campaign in Central India against the Rānī and Tantia Topi was conducted by Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn) in command of an army brought up from Bombay. The princess was killed in June, 1858, fighting at the head of her troops, like another Chand Bībī, and in the following year Tantia was captured and executed. Lucknow, being held in force by the rebels, was not retaken until March, 1858.

Delhi. Important as were the operations at Cawnpore, Lucknow, and other places, the critical point was Delhi. A tiny British force had established itself in June on the famous Ridge to the north of the city, but was barely able to hold its ground against the insurgent hosts until reinforcements and a siege train from the Panjāb, collected by Sir John Lawrence at the risk of losing hold on his own province, arrived during August and September. At last, on September 14, 1857, the assault was delivered, the rebels were swept out, and Bahādur Shah was a prisoner. The joy of victory was dimmed by the fall of heroic John Nicholson. The recapture of Delhi was the turning-point of the war, and broke the rebel organization, such as it was. The subsequent operations, some of which have been related, were conducted against detached forces unconnected by any bond of union. By the end of 1858 the authority of the Government had been generally restored, although in some localities the troubles continued into the following year.

The Queen's Proclamation, November 1, 1858. The news of the rebellion determined Parliament to abolish the powers of the Company and transfer the government of India directly to the Crown,[1] substituting a Secretary of State for

[1] The East India Company was formally dissolved as from January 1, 1874, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1873 (36 Vict. c. 17).

India and a Council of fifteen members for the President of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors.[1] At Allahabad, on November 1, 1858, Lord Canning published the Queen's Proclamation, which appointed him to be the 'first Viceroy and Governor-General', and announced the principles on which Her Majesty proposed to govern the Indian empire. The text of this weighty message from the 'mother of her people' to her children in the East is reprinted in Appendix A.[2] A few days after the solemnity at Allahabad, the last of the Mughal emperors passed through on his way to Burma, where he spent the rest of his days in confinement as the penalty for his passive share in the doings of the rebels at Delhi.

Causes of the Mutiny. In the beginning the rebellion was simply the result of the panic caused in the Bengal army by the greased cartridges incident; the Bombay and Madras armies being but slightly affected. The fighting took place almost wholly to the north of the Narbadā, and for the most part was confined to the plains of Hindustan. Oudh was the only province in which the insurrection became general, and nearly every great landholder rebelled. The displeasure at the recent annexation had something to do with this fact, but much of the trouble in Oudh must be attributed to the lawless condition of the kingdom after a century of gross misgovernment. The cause of the Mutiny, expressed in the most general terms and without regard to specific grievances, was the revolt of the old against the new, of Indian conservatism against European innovation. The spirit of revolt undoubtedly had been stimulated by the annexation of Oudh and the trend of Lord Dalhousie's policy, which alarmed men's minds. Every one of his actions was prompted by the highest motives, and each can be justified in detail, but the cumulative effect of them all was profound unrest. Railways, telegraphs, and other material and educational improvements, now matters of course, were in those days unorthodox, disturbing novelties,

[1] An Act of 1889 authorized the reduction of the Council to ten members.

[2] It has been confirmed and extended by the gracious Message of H.M. the King-Emperor dated Nov. 2, 1908 (App. B).

which contributed largely to unsettle the minds of the people and support the delusion that their religions were in danger. Mutiny in the army was nothing new; several instances have been mentioned in the preceding pages, and there were others besides. The military organization had become rusty and antiquated, and discipline was lax. The army, thus ill organized and mutinous, seeing England engaged in distant wars, and the European garrison diminished, believed itself to be master, and in its ignorance rushed blindly to destruction.

CHAPTER XXXIII

India under the Viceroys: finance; famines; Afghan and Burmese wars; delimitation of frontiers.

Lord Canning; Lord Elgin (I); Sir W. Denison, 1858–64. The events of the last half-century are too near to us and too much mixed up with matters of current controversy to admit of satisfactory narration in brief. We must be content to give a bare outline of some of the leading facts in the history of India under the Viceroys, adding notes on a few special topics.

When the Mutiny had been suppressed, Lord Canning devoted himself with such zeal to the work of reorganizing the empire, that he wore himself out and died soon after his return to England in 1862. The financial and educational reforms of his time and the introduction of the Codes will be noticed on a later page; here we may mention the Rent Act (X of 1859), which was designed to secure protection to the tenantry of the Bengal Presidency, and has been the foundation of a long series of enactments.

Little worthy of notice happened during the interval between Lord Canning's departure in March, 1862, and the arrival of Sir John (Lord) Lawrence in 1864. Lord Elgin, who immediately succeeded Lord Canning, lived only until November,

1863, and Sir R. Napier and Sir William Denison then filled the gap.

Sir John Lawrence, 1864–9. Sir John Lawrence, subsequently raised to the peerage, was appointed Viceroy (1864–9) as a reward for his eminent services in the Mutiny. In foreign politics he belonged to the so-called 'non-intervention' or 'masterly inactivity' school, and declined to be drawn into the quarrels of the sons of Dost Muhammad while they fought for the lordship of Afghanistan. When one of them, Sher Ali, established himself in power, Sir John recognized him. Averse although Sir John Lawrence was to aggression, he was constrained to annex a small territory on the north-eastern frontier, the Duārs of Bhutān, as a penalty for various outrages committed and insults offered by the Bhūtias. His term of office, on the whole, was quiet and uneventful. He began the inquiries which resulted in the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, and was deeply interested in the welfare of the peasantry of all provinces.

Lord Mayo, 1869–72. Lord Mayo (1869–72) during his short term of office made his mark as one of the most brilliant of the Viceroys. He secured the friendship of Sher Ali, Amīr of Afghanistan, and had the pleasure of being the host of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, the first prince of the blood royal to make a state visit to India (1869–70). Since that time the personal relations between the rulers of the protected states and their distant sovereign have been drawn closer by the tours of other members of the royal family. An immense extension of public works was effected under Lord Mayo's direction. When he was visiting the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands he was killed by a convict, to the deep sorrow of all India.

Lord Northbrook, 1872–6; Lord Lytton, 1876–80. The principal events of Lord Northbrook's term of office were the visit of the Prince of Wales (1875–6), now H.M. the King-Emperor, which evoked ardent expressions of loyalty to the throne from the princes and people; the deposition of the

Gaikwār of Baroda for an attempt to poison the Resident; and a famine in Bengal and Bihār (1873–4). The Viceroy, an expert in finance, devoted much attention to that subject.

In Lord Lytton's time the great famine of 1876–7 is believed to have destroyed over five millions of people, in spite of the most strenuous endeavours on the part of Government to provide food and save life. Restrictions were imposed on the press by an Act subsequently repealed by Lord Ripon.

The Royal Titles Act of 1876 authorized the Queen to make such addition to her style and titles as she might think fit. Accordingly, the Queen, by proclamation dated April 28, 1876, assumed the title of 'Empress of India'. The formal announcement to the people of India that the Queen of England had become their Empress was made at a magnificent assemblage held at Delhi on January 1, 1877.

Second and third Afghan wars, 1878–80. The reception of a Russian mission by Sher Ali, Amīr of Afghanistan, and his refusal to admit an English one, induced Lord Lytton to declare war. Sher Ali was driven from the throne, but replaced by his son Yākūb Khan, who consented to receive a British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari. A few months later the troops and people of Kābul rose and murdered the Resident and his escort (September, 1879). This event necessitated a renewal of the war. Sir Frederick (Lord) Roberts reoccupied Kābul, and the British force at Kandahar under General Stewart made a brilliant march from Kandahar to Kābul, taking Ghaznī on the way, after a hard fight. Up to this time the intention of the Home and Indian Governments was to retain Kandahar, but in April, 1880, the Liberal Government came into office, with a different policy, and decided to withdraw from Afghan territory, and Lord Lytton was succeeded by Lord Ripon. Abdurrahmān, nephew of Sher Ali, was recognized as Amīr. Meantime, Ayūb Khan, son of Sher Ali, attacked the British force at Maiwand, forty-five miles from Kandahar (July 27, 1880), and defeated it. The country then rose and Kandahar was besieged. General

Stewart evacuated Kābul and returned to India without opposition, while Sir Frederick (Lord) Roberts took a relieving force from that city to Kandahar by a wonderful march, covering the distance, 318 miles, in twenty-three days. Ayūb Khan was routed (September, 1880), and the war was ended by the complete evacuation of Afghanistan and the recognition of Abdurrahmān as Amīr. Recently the reigning Amīr, Habībullah, has been recognized as King.

Lord Ripon, 1880–4. The Viceroy, having disposed of the Afghan troubles by withdrawal, occupied his attention with the finances, which had been disorganized by the wars, and with internal reforms. He repealed Lord Lytton's Press Act and devised a large scheme for the development of local self-government by means of elected boards. A proposal, the Ilbert Bill, to extend the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts to European British subjects excited much animosity and had to be withdrawn. Lord Ripon's sympathetic attitude towards the natives of the country has endeared his memory to Indian opinion. The 'Rendition of Mysore' has been described (*ante*, p. 191).

Lord Dufferin, 1884–8; third Burmese war. Lord Dufferin, a skilled diplomatist, was a man of a different type, more interested in foreign policy than domestic concerns. Like Lord Dalhousie, he was obliged in 1885 to declare war against Burma on account of outrages on British subjects, for which the Burmese Government refused all redress. The military occupation of Mandalay, the capital, was easily effected, King Theebaw being deposed and deported to the Bombay coast, where he still lives. Upper Burma was annexed by proclamation on January 1, 1886, and so, as the result of three wars (1826, 1852, 1885), the whole Burmese dominion passed under British authority and was added to the Indian empire. The suppression of disorder in the newly annexed provinces proved to be a difficult task, and military operations long continued. Lord Dufferin performed a gracious and popular act by restoring to Sindia the fortress of Gwalior.

Lord Lansdowne, 1888–94. The organization of the Imperial Service Troops opened up a military career for the aristocracy of the protected states, and added a valuable element to the Indian army. Some of the corps served with distinction in China in 1900. Lord Curzon's institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps has carried the same policy a step further. In 1890, during the course of a rising in Manipur, a small state on the north-eastern frontier, Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and other officers were treacherously murdered. Suitable reparation was exacted, and the state was placed under British management. It has lately been restored to the native authorities.

Between 1890–5 the army was reorganized and placed in the charge of a single Commander-in-Chief.

Lord Elgin, 1894–8; frontier delimitation. Lord Elgin is the son of the Viceroy who died in India in 1863. During his term of office measures were taken to complete the work of settling the boundaries of the Indian empire at its north-western and south-eastern extremities, which had been begun by Lord Lansdowne. The frontier line between Burma on one side and China and Siam on the other was marked out, and a commission defined the Afghan frontier. A treaty with Russia settled the limits of Russian and British influence in the Pāmīrs. A small annexation was effected by the Chitral expedition of 1895, and the frontier campaign against the tribesmen of the Tirah hills was successfully conducted.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, 1898–1905. The energetic administration of Lord Curzon, fruitful in incidents, is too much a subject of current controversy to permit of historical treatment. Every branch of the services and every subject passed under the review of the Viceroy, who displayed enormous powers of work and the keenest desire for efficiency. His treatment of the universities question, and the formation of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, commonly described as the Partition of Bengal, still excite angry passions and much difference of opinion. Lord Curzon's frontier policy

and his attitude towards Tibet also have not passed into the domain of history. The Coronation Darbār of 1903, a magnificent and imposing ceremonial, has not escaped the fate of most of Lord Curzon's acts in attracting hostile criticism. But every one is agreed that he did the country a valuable and honourable service by passing the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, and by initiating systematic measures for the conservation of the buildings which are the visible memorials of India's ancient greatness.

Queen Victoria, the first Empress of India, died on January 22, 1901, and was mourned by the whole world.

Finance. Lord Canning, after his appointment as Viceroy, had to face a large deficit of revenue caused by the Mutiny, and was obliged to take active measures to make the income of the empire fit the expenditure. Mr. James Wilson, with official experience gained at the Treasury and Board of Trade, was sent out as Finance Minister, and was succeeded by another expert, Mr. Laing. These gentlemen turned the deficit into a surplus by the introduction of income and licence taxes, reform of the customs duties, formation of a paper currency, and stringent retrenchments, especially in military establishments. In the time of Lord Mayo (1869–72) financial reform was carried further by the policy of decentralization, which gave each Provincial Government responsibility for its budget, subject to a certain amount of control by the Supreme Government, and contracts or arrangements with that Government holding good for five years. The internal customs lines also were abolished, and trade was thus freed from intolerable restrictions. In India a large revenue is derived from the Government restrictions on the manufacture of salt, and if the tax on this necessity is too heavy the poorest people suffer. Important reforms in the assessment of the salt tax were effected by Lord Ripon (1880–4), and since then have been further developed. The income-tax, dropped for a while by Lord Northbrook (1872-6), was reimposed by his successor Lord Lytton (1876–80), and still is in force in a much mitigated form. When

first introduced it was levied on incomes of Rs. 200 a year; recently the minimum has been raised to Rs. 1,000.

In 1882 Lord Ripon and his Finance Minister, Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), abolished the duties on cotton goods and most imported articles; but in Lord Elgin's time (1894) a deficit in the revenue compelled the Government to reimpose a general five per cent. duty on imports—special arrangements being made with regard to cotton goods, which still are the subject of controversy.

Currency. In India for several centuries the standard of value had been silver; that is to say, the debts, whether of the State or private persons, were payable in silver rupees, not in gold or anything else. From 1874, owing to various causes, the value of silver fell rapidly, and the rupee, which once had been worth the eighth part (2*s.* 6*d.*) of an English gold sovereign, and for many years had been worth the tenth part (2*s.*), decreased until it was worth only about the nineteenth part (1*s.* 0½*d.*) of a sovereign. This fall made it very difficult for India to pay her debts to England and other countries with gold currencies. Arrangements completed in Lord Curzon's time (1899) made gold a legal tender in India; that is to say, an Indian or the Indian Government may pay a debt in either gold or silver. The rate of exchange was fixed as fifteen silver rupees to the gold sovereign, or, in other words, 1*s.* 4*d.* to the rupee. Little fluctuation in the rate thus fixed has occurred, and the difficulty has been surmounted for the present at all events.

Law and administration. The Law Commission formed under the Act of 1833, and at first presided over by Macaulay, bore fruit many years afterwards in the Penal Code, passed in 1860, the Code of Criminal Procedure (1861), the Code of Civil Procedure, and many other enactments which present Anglo-Indian law in a highly scientific form, perhaps a little too scientific for the practical needs of the country.

The year 1861, in Lord Canning's time, is marked by three Acts of importance. One of these, the Indian Civil Service

Act, scheduled the particular appointments to be reserved for the Indian Civil Service, and threw all others open under certain conditions. The Indian Councils Act modified the constitution of the Viceroy's Executive and Legislative Councils, which have been reformed on liberal lines in 1909. The High Courts Act swept away the old Supreme and 'Sudder' courts and established High Courts as now existing.

Education. The Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were founded in 1857, the Mutiny year, in pursuance of the policy laid down by the dispatch of 1854 (*ante*, p. 225). Those of Allahabad and the Panjāb were established later. Lord Curzon's Government passed an Indian Universities Act, aimed at the correction of certain abuses, and intended to raise the standard of education. It is too soon yet to pronounce on the success or failure of the revised system, but further changes are probable.

The subject of education generally has been an object of care to most of the Viceroys, and has been examined by Commissions under the orders of Lord Ripon (1882) and Lord Curzon. Teaching in modern medical science was first organized by Lord William Bentinck. During recent years much progress has been effected in the promotion of medical, legal, engineering, and other technical studies.

Famines and Plagues. Famines, as already observed (*ante*, p. 169) have been frequent in India in all ages and under every form of government. But in the old times little, if anything, was done to relieve the suffering people, and historians were content to barely mention the visitations. Nowadays a famine attracts everybody's attention, and governments feel bound to grant all possible relief. During Lord Lawrence's administration in 1865–6 a terrible famine desolated Orissa. The means of communication in the province being then very defective and the principles of famine relief little understood, the mortality was appalling. The Bengal and Bihār famine of 1873–4, in Lord Northbrook's time, was the first in which systematic relief on a large scale was arranged for, but the

expense was extravagantly great. The great famine of 1876–7 extended over a large part of India, being worst in the south. Every possible exertion to save the people was made by Lord Lytton's Government, but nevertheless millions perished. The famine of 1899–1900 was dealt with by Lord Curzon and Sir Antony (Lord) MacDonnell, and the methods of relief were laid down in an elaborate code, which is expected to be of much service as a guide to future administrations. During 1908 a great part of northern India suffered severely from scarcity approaching famine.

During the last twelve years plague has wrought great havoc, but now is diminishing. The disease has long been known to exist in the Himalayas, and appeared as an epidemic at Pālī in Rājputāna in 1836–8. The general epidemic began in 1896 at Bombay, where the disease seems to have been imported from China.

Conclusion. The Viceroy (1909), Lord Minto, great-grandson of the nobleman who ruled India with distinction a hundred years ago, has had to face problems and difficulties different from those which his ancestor confronted. Let us trust that he, his councillors, and successors may be granted the wisdom needed for the government of an empire unlike any which the world has seen, and that all the various peoples of India may give to their rulers that loyal support without which progressive government is impossible. My young Indian readers will, I hope, ponder aright the lessons of history, and do all that lies in their power to further the peace, prosperity, and honour of their country and of the still vaster empire with which its fortunes are united.

EAST INDIA COMPANY

1600 (31 December). Queen Elizabeth's Charter.
1661. Charter of Charles II.
1708. Final fusion of rival Companies.
1773. Regulating Act (Governor-General of Bengal).
1784. Pitt's India Act ('Board of Control').
1793. Charter renewed.
1813. ,, ,, (India trade thrown open).
1833. ,, ,, (Company's trading functions abolished; China trade thrown open).
1853. ,, ,, (Competition for Civil Service).
1858. Government of India Act (Direct government by Crown; Queen's Proclamation).
1874. Formal dissolution of the Company.

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

I. *Governors-General of Bengal or of Fort William (Regulating Act of* 1773).

(*Temporary and officiating in italics.*)

1774 (October). Warren Hastings, Esq.
1785 (1 February). *Sir John Macpherson.*
1786 (September). Earl (Marquess) Cornwallis.
1793 (August). Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth).
1798 (March). *Sir Alured Clarke.*
1798 (May). Baron Mornington (Marquess Wellesley).
1805 (30 July). Marquess Cornwallis (for second time).
1805 (5 October). *Sir George Barlow.*
1807. Baron (Earl of) Minto, I.
1813 (4 October). Earl of Moira (Marquess of Hastings).
1823 (1 January). *John Adam, Esq.*
1823 (1 August). Baron (Earl) Amherst.
1828 (8 March). *William Butterworth Bayley, Esq.*
1828 (July). Lord William Bentinck.

II. *Governors-General of India* (*Charter Act of* 1833).

1833. Lord William Bentinck.
1835 (20 March). *Sir Charles* (*Lord*) *Metcalfe.*
1837 (1 March). Baron (Earl of) Auckland.
1842. Baron (Earl of) Ellenborough.
1844. Sir Henry (Viscount) Hardinge.
1848. Earl (Marquess) of Dalhousie.
1856. Viscount (Earl) Canning.

III. *Governors-General and Viceroys* (*Queen's Proclamation*).

1858 (1 November). Earl Canning.
1862. Earl of Elgin, I.
1863. *Sir Robert Napier* (*Lord Napier of Magdala*).
1863. *Sir William Denison.*
1864. Sir John (Lord) Lawrence.
1869. Earl of Mayo.
1872. *Sir John Strachey.*
1872. *Lord Napier of Merchistoun.*
1872. Baron (Earl of) Northbrook.
1876. Baron (Earl of) Lytton.
1880. Marquess of Ripon.
1884. Earl of Dufferin (Marquess of Dufferin and Ava).
1888. Marquess of Lansdowne.
1894. Earl of Elgin, II.
1898. Baron Curzon of Kedleston.
1904. *Lord Ampthill.*
1904. Baron Curzon of Kedleston (reappointed).
1905. Earl of Minto, II.

To face p. 240

B.V.C. Barbshire, Oxford, 1909

APPENDIX A

QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the

field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:—

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

APPENDIX B

IMPERIAL MESSAGE TO PRINCES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA

November 2, 1908

It is now 50 years since Queen Victoria, my beloved Mother, and my August Predecessor on the Throne of these realms, for divers weighty reasons, with the advice and consent of Parliament, took upon herself the government of the territories theretofore administered by the East India Company. I deem this a fitting anniversary on which to greet the Princes and Peoples of India, in commemoration of the exalted task then solemnly undertaken. Half a century is but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half century that ends to-day will stand amid the floods of your historic ages, a far-shining landmark. The proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous, and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred millions of the human race, under British guidance and control has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the past half century with clear gaze and good conscience.

Difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place have risen up from day to day. They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them: if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy.

No secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of Nature. For a longer period than was ever known in your land before you have escaped the dire calamities of war within your borders. Internal peace has been unbroken.

In the great charter of 1858 Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting

your material convenience and advance—schemes unsurpassed in their magnitude and their boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man among my subjects has been favoured, molested, or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilization; it has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come; and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

Unwilling that this historic anniversary should pass without some signal mark of Royal clemency and grace, I have directed that, as was ordered on the memorable occasion of the Coronation Durbar in 1903, the sentences of persons whom our Courts have duly punished for offences against the law should be remitted, or in various degrees reduced; and it is my wish that such wrongdoers may remain mindful of this act of mercy, and may conduct themselves without offence henceforth.

Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgement of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such

a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs.

I recognize the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops, and at the New Year I have ordered that opportunity should be taken to show in substantial form this, my high appreciation, of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service.

The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me, ever since my visit in 1875, the interests of India, its Princes and Peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom.

May Divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual goodwill that are needed for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time.

[*A Message read by his Excellency the Viceroy in Durbar at Jodhpur, November* 2, 1908.]

APPENDIX C

HISTORY SYLLABUS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The physical features of the country.

The aborigines of India. Immigrations from the north-east and north-west.

The Aryans. The Indo-Aryans.

The Vedas. Relation of the Rig-Veda to other Vedas.

The Brahmanas. The Smritis. Manu.

The caste system.

Buddha and Buddhism.

Mahavira and the Jains.

The kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha: the empire of the Nandas.

Invasion of Alexander the Great.

Accounts of India given by Greek writers.

The Maurya empire. Chandra Gupta. Asoka.

The Kusana empire; Kanishka. The Saka era. The Gupta empire; Buddhist architecture and the Fine Arts. Chinese pilgrims. Kalidas. Vikramaditya; the Vikrama era.

Rise of the Rajputs.

Mahomedan conquest of Sind and the Punjab; Mahmud of Gazni.

Hindu civilization on the eve of the Mahomedan rule in India.

The Pathan dynasties. Muhammad Ghori. Qutb-ud-Din. Altamish. Razia. Mogul invasion.

Conquest of Gujarat, Malwa, and the Deccan; incursions into Southern India. Ala-ud-Din.

The Tughlak dynasty. Muhammad Tughlak; Firuz Tughlak. Timur's invasion. Break-up of the Pathan empire; the Mahomedan kingdoms of Delhi, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, the Deccan; and the Hindu kingdoms of Vijayanagar, Meywar and Orissa.

Rise of religious sects under Pathan rule: Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya. Spread of Mahomedanism. Pathan architecture; the Urdu language; Indian literature in Pathan times.

The Mogul dynasty: Baber; Humayun; Sher Shah; Restoration of Humayun.

Akbar: Todar Mal; Abul-Fazl.

Jehangir; Nur Jehan; Sir Thomas Roe; Shah Jehan; Bernier; Mogul architecture.

Aurangzeb; Rajput revolt; his treatment of the Hindus; Sivaji and the Mahrattas; Break-up of the Mogul empire.

The successors of Aurangzeb: revolt of the provinces; invasions of the Mahrattas; invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali. Struggle for supreme power between Mahomedans and the Mahrattas; the Mahratta confederacy; extent of Mahratta dominion. Contact of the Mahrattas with the English.

The Europeans in India; discovery of the Cape route to India by

the Portuguese. The Dutch, the French, and the English Merchant Companies, and early Settlements. First Charter of the East India Company.

The French in India, Dupleix. The English in India; Clive; English wars and the territorial acquisitions in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay. Plassey; the Dewani. Early History of Calcutta. Clive's system of administration. Warren Hastings: his financial, revenue, and judicial reforms; his relations with native powers.

The Regulating Act; Warren Hastings, first Governor-General; extent of British dominion in his time.

Pitt's India Act; Lord Cornwallis; his administrative reforms; the permanent settlement. Sir John Shore; his non-intervention policy.

Lord Wellesley; his wars with Mysore and with the Mahrattas; the system of Subsidiary Treaties.

Lord Minto; state of Central India; extension of relations of British Indian Government with foreign powers outside India; renewal of the Company's Charter.

Lord Hastings; his wars with Nepal and with the Mahrattas. Lord Amherst; the first Burmese War.

Lord William Bentinck; his social and administrative reforms; renewal of the Company's Charter. Sir Charles Metcalfe. Lord Auckland; his policy; the First Afghan War. Lord Ellenborough; the Sind War. Lord Hardinge; the first Sikh War.

Lord Dalhousie; the second Sikh War; the doctrine of Lapse and the Annexation policy; the second Burmese War. Material progress of the country under Dalhousie.

Lord Canning; the Indian Mutiny, probable causes; the assumption of direct Government by the Crown; the Queen's Proclamation.

India under the Viceroys: Financial reforms; the Orissa Famine and other great famines; the Second and Third Afghan Wars; the Third Burmese War; delimitation of Frontier boundaries.

The Mahrattas: their rise; Sivaji and his successors; Mahratta system of war, administration, and revenue; rise of the Peshwas; Baji Rao; his successors; origin of the chief existing Mahratta states.

Mysore. an ancient Hindu kingdom; Hyder Ali; his wars with the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the English; Tippu Sultan; Restoration of the Hindu dynasty.

The Sikhs: their origin and religion; Guru Govinda; their struggle with Ahmed Shah Abdali; Ranjit Singh; his conquests; the Khalsa; Ranjit Singh's successors.

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